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**"AIDS" TO THE STUDY OF
THE BIBLE**

THE
CATHOLIC STUDENT'S
"AIDS"

TO THE
STUDY OF THE BIBLE

BY
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WITH PREFACE BY
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VOL. I.
THE OLD TESTAMENT
(GENERAL)

REVISED EDITION

LONDON

BURNS OATES & WASHBOURNE LTD

PUBLISHERS TO THE HOLY SEE

1926

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WESTMONASTERII,
Die 21^a Junii, 1926.

NIHIL OBSTAT :

FR. VINCENTIUS ROWAN, O.P., S.T.L., P.S.SCR.
FR. THOMAS GARDE, O.P., S.T.M., P.S.SCR.

IMPRIMI POTEST :

FR. BONAVENTURA G. PAREDES.

Made and Printed in Great Britain

PREFACE

THIRTEEN years ago I offered a few words of welcome to the first edition of the *Catholic Student's Aids to the Bible*. These words I now gladly repeat on the appearance of a new edition. If the first issue deservedly received the high commendation which I then rendered to it, much greater praise will surely be bestowed upon the work which is now about to be published.

Father Pope has expanded both the scope and the treatment of his subject. Three volumes take the place of one; thus obviating the consequences of undue compression, and, in giving greater freedom of expression, rendering the development and grouping of the various matters much clearer, and more easy of understanding. Very important additions have been made which enhance considerably the value of the work.

Such an enlarged Manual is greatly needed and ought to obtain a large number of readers and students in all the English-speaking countries. Hitherto we have had to depend to a very great extent on treatises written in Latin or French, the latter for the most part the more valuable. I am glad to see Father Pope's tribute to Monsieur Vigouroux, a man greatly loved and esteemed by all who were privileged to have his friendship; and also his well-merited reference to the Dominican Biblical School at Jerusalem, which, under its great leader Père Lagrange, has won for the Catholic Church in the Holy Land a place

of esteem, as a centre of true scholarship, which it might otherwise be lacking. But their labours called for grouping, explanation, and setting forth in an easily accessible form, in order that they may become really available for the ordinary student of the Bible. No Manual of the kind most needed is, so far as I am aware, in existence at the present time either in Latin or in French. And there is no moment when the need has been so great. Professors and students alike are constantly feeling the want of such a guide, giving in accurate, compact but not too concise terms, the lines on which the study of the Bible should be approached by a Catholic at the present day.

I beg God to bless the learned author and his work, and to make it very fruitful in result both among those who habitually use the English language whether as their own birth-right or as an acquisition, and among those who may one day receive his gift by way of translation.

FRANCIS CARDINAL BOURNE,
ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER.

*Feast of SS. Philip and James,
May 1, 1926.*

INTRODUCTION

WHEN the first volume of this unpretentious work appeared in 1914 it had been the writer's intention to devote a single volume to each Testament. But as the work on the New Testament progressed it speedily became evident that the many problems involved could not be satisfactorily dealt with save in two volumes. The result was a sad lack of proportion between the methods adopted in handling the New Testament and the Old; the latter had been treated in far too cursory a fashion. So much was this the case that all attempts at recasting the original first volume broke down, and it had to be entirely rewritten. Nor was it found feasible to bring it out in two volumes, as had been done with the New Testament, unless certain features were to receive unduly scant treatment.

This first volume, then, deals with such fundamental questions as the inspiration and interpretation of the Bible, with the canon and the versions, and with such comparatively minor questions as the Biblical Commission and its decisions, the poetry of the Hebrews, the feasts and fasts, the priesthood and the sacrifices, the moneys, weights and measures, etc. The second volume will treat of the nations surrounding Israel and with the history of the Hebrews. It will also deal, though only incidentally, with the excavations in the East, and with the archæological and linguistic problems thence arising. The third volume will be devoted to *Introductions* to the various books of the Old Testament.

The writer's sole aim has been to provide the ever-increasing number of Catholics who are interested in the Bible and Biblical studies with a practical *Introduction* to the greatest of all books. It is barely one hundred years since Catholic emancipation, and that period has seen the gradual disappearance of the wellnigh incredible disabilities

which have beset Catholic education. It is often made a subject of ungenerous comment that Catholic commentaries on the various books of the Bible are difficult to find in any language, while in English they are practically non-existent. It is a fact, and a regrettable one. Yet no one who is cognizant with the story of the past hundred years can marvel at the defect. The real marvel is that, despite the obstacles, so much should have been done.

The Catholics of France have led the way, and the debt we owe to the labours of the indefatigable Abbé Vigouroux is inestimable. His various volumes provided students in seminaries with a very real help in their Biblical studies, and found their climax in his *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. At the same time, professors and others who were able to pursue their studies further found invaluable and stimulating assistance in the scientific work done by the Dominicans at their college of St. Etienne in Jerusalem. For many years past the *Revue Biblique*, published quarterly by them, has stood alone as the really scientific Catholic Biblical review. It is not too creditable to the Catholic body that that great review is more appreciated by non-Catholics than by Catholics. From the same school have come the series of commentaries by Père Lagrange and the men trained by him, or at least in full sympathy with his broad outlook on the Bible. The series may be said to have begun with *La Méthode Historique*, a work which met with much criticism—as, indeed, all good work must—but which has been re-edited more than once and has been translated into English. There followed in the course of time his commentaries on the *Book of Judges*, on the *Epistle to the Galatians*, and finally on each of the four *Gospels*. It should be borne in mind that these commentaries are the fruit of long years of study of the Bible and an intimate familiarity with Biblical lands, manners, customs, and problems. From the same school have come other volumes which the Biblical world in general accepts as classical; we will only mention such works as Père Jaussen's *Coutumes des Arabes*, Père Vincent's *Canaan*, Père Dhorme's *Commentary on the Books of Samuel* and his various Assyriological works. From the same school of thought come the volumes by Père Condamin, S.J., on *Isaias* and *Jeremias*, as well as studies in

the *Parables*, on the *Psalms and Ecclesiastes* by Podechard and Buzy. We have thought it well to dwell on these facts, since they are too little appreciated by Catholics in general, and though the fact that these works are in French may render them less accessible to the beginner, yet that does not preclude professors from using them. Such volumes were the first-fruits and the abiding fruits of the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on *The Study of Holy Scripture*.

The above are commentaries, and profound ones. But in these days of specialization there is always a danger lest what we may term "foundation-work" should be neglected. It is an elementary truth that a knowledge of the Written Word must precede the use of commentaries on it. Yet we often see the contrary in practice, though it should be evident that it is futile to try and study a commentary on one of the *Gospels*, for instance, or on one of the *Books* of the *Pentateuch*, without some idea of the relationship between the *Four Gospels* or the *Five Books of Moses*. More elementary still: Of what avail to read about inspiration before we know something of the Inspired Word itself? As a matter of fact, the work of providing *Introductions* to the Bible has not been neglected; we need only instance the admirable works by Gigot, Grannan, and Simon, as well as the well-known volumes by Cornely, especially the *Compendium*.

Nor would it be just to pass over the excellent work on the Bible produced by non-Catholics. England has always been a Bible-loving country, and though there are signs of a great change in this respect—a change for the worse—yet it will always remain one of the glories of England that she produced such sound scholars as Westcott and Lightfoot, to name but two out of a veritable host. At the same time non-Catholic *Introductions* as well as *Commentaries* labour under serious defects in Catholic eyes.

In the first place, non-Catholics can never regard the Bible in the same way as we do. For them the Bible is the living word of God—and each is at liberty to interpret it as he pleases. For us, on the contrary, the Bible is not the living word; it is God's word, it is true; but it is not the speaking word which needs no interpreter. It is given us by the Church, it is authorita-

tively interpreted by the Church alone, and the Church alone can declare infallibly that the Bible is inspired. It is in this sense that the Bible depends upon the Church and not the Church upon the Bible. Hence, too, the seeming paradox that the Church rests upon the Bible and the Bible on the Church. Both statements are true, though in different ways. For the Church rests upon the Bible considered as an historical document foretelling in the Old Testament the foundation of the Church and announcing in the New its actual establishment. But the Church once established can turn round and say: By the Divine authority committed to me, I declare that the Bible in which you have read of me is divinely inspired.

In this fundamental view of the Bible, then, Catholics and non-Catholics differ. And the effects of this divergence are far-reaching. For the one system means free and ever-changing interpretation; the other means interpretation according to the unchanging mind of the Church, and therefore in accord with her dogmas and definitions. This explains why we shrink from placing non-Catholic commentaries in the hands of the young. For in them they are always liable to find views put forward which no Catholic can accept. And since the grounds for the Catholic point of view are not always immediately evident, whereas the grounds asserted for the non-Catholic view are at least plausible, the student is often puzzled and may, unless he happens to be exceedingly well grounded in his faith, be actually in danger.

Again, to judge by most non-Catholic books on the Bible, one might fancy that previous to the Reformation the Bible had been a sealed book. The labours of the Fathers of the Church—who read apparently little or nothing save the Bible; the toils of the monastic copyists—who by their unremitting devotion to their task literally preserved the Bible for us their heirs; the discussions and arguments which minted from the Bible the priceless theology of the Church of Christ; the journeys of men like St. Benet Biscop to secure valuable copies of the Bible as the most precious legacy they could bequeath to their churches—all these things are either ignored or, if mentioned at all, are belittled. As for the story of the Bible in the Church in

post-Reformation days—well, it is taken for granted that no such story exists. A good example of this will be found in the history of the Tridentine revision of the Vulgate; even the story of St. Jerome's Vulgate is hardly known. It is the same with the romance—for it is a romance—of the Rheims and Douay versions of the New and the Old Testament respectively. But most significant of all in this respect is the treatment given to the problem of inspiration; it is either not treated of at all or a presentment of it is made which no Catholic could possibly accept.

We have tried in this volume to remedy these defects at least in part. But all who have had experience in teaching the Bible will realize the variety of problems we have had to face. It would have been comparatively easy to produce a learned volume, and while perhaps delighting the professor, hopelessly discouraging the student. It would have been less easy to write a very simple book which would at least serve to help a student on his way. We have chosen a *via media*, and we know not whether we have chosen well or ill. Small type has been used, often for economy of space, but often, too, because the matter dealt with could be passed over by the beginner. The professor we have tried to help by giving a bibliography which may or may not prove useful. But we must confess that it has proved a difficult task to decide what to insert and what to omit. Some idea will, however, be furnished of what has been written on most of the points treated of. There will be found, more especially in the second and third volumes, many references to the reviews, notably to the *Revue Biblique* already mentioned, to the *Journal of Theological Studies*, the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* and the *Quarterly Statements of the Palestine Exploration Fund*. The last-named periodical is too little known, and it is much to be regretted that seminaries and colleges do not subscribe to the *Fund* which started work in Palestine in 1869, which is in very truth the parent of all the archæological societies, which has, with very limited resources derived solely from voluntary contributions, excavated some of the most important Biblical sites, and which has preserved in the pages of its modest *Quarterly Statement* a real mine of information on things Biblical. The *Journal of Theological Studies* devotes more

space to patristic than to directly Biblical studies ; but profound Biblical study is wellnigh impossible without patristic study.

Some may be disposed to quarrel with the constant reference to works by non-Catholic writers. But the bulk of the work is—here in England, at least—done by them ; and though we are bound at times to dissent strongly from some of the views they hold, we can yet learn a great deal from them. But it is from the Fathers and Doctors of the Church that we can learn the most, and one of the most gratifying changes in the modern outlook on the Bible is the ever-growing interest in the writings of the Fathers. Where all are giants it is hard to discriminate, but Origen, Jerome, and Augustine certainly do stand out pre-eminent. Hence we have quoted largely from them, and with them we have not shrunk from dwelling on the difficulties presented by the Bible. Readers of St. Augustine's *Sermons* will recall how frankly he sets before his hearers—often quite uneducated people—the difficulties that have to be faced in reading the Bible. This is notably the case when he is preaching on the Resurrection ; not an Easter passed but the Bishop pointed out to his flock the apparent contradictions in the Gospel narrative of that fundamental mystery. And surely it is preferable that a student should from the outset be familiarized with the fact that the Bible is emphatically a book which he who runs may *not* read than that he should be tempted to think later on that difficulties and apparent contradictions have been unfairly glozed over by his teachers ? In the words of St. Jerome : *Meum propositum est antiquos legere, probare singula, retinere quæ bona sunt, et a fide Ecclesiæ Catholicæ non recedere.*¹ And though some may be inclined to look askance on such frankness, we are content to follow the Bishop whose privilege it was “to enrich Rome with the produce of Africa,” and the “veteran” who was content “to whisper to a poor auditory in a corner of his monastery at Bethlehem.”²

¹ St. Jerome, *Ep.* cxix. 11.

² *Ep.* cxii.

ABBREVIATIONS

- B.A.L.A.C.*, *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et de archéologie chrétiennes*.
Has ceased to appear.
- D.R.*, *Dublin Review*.
- E.E.F.*, *Egypt Exploration Fund Reports*. These, from 1914, are merged
in the *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*.
- H.D.B.*, Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*.
- H.J.*, *Hibbert Journal*.
- H.J.P.*, *History of the Jewish People* (Schurer).
- H.R.E.*, Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*.
- J.E.A.*, *Journal of Egyptian Archæology* (13, Tavistock Square, W.C. 1).
- J.T.S.*, *Journal of Theological Studies* (Clarendon Press).
- P.E.F.*, *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Reports* (2, Hinde Street,
Manchester Square, W. 1).
- P.G.*, *Patrologia Græca* (Migne).
- P.L.*, *Patrologia Latina* (Migne).
- P.S.B.A.*, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*. This is
now merged in the *Asiatic Quarterly*.
- R.B.*, *Revue Biblique* (Gabalda, Paris).
- T.S.B.A.*, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*. Has
ceased to appear.

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CHAPTER I

THE BIBLE

- I. The Old Testament and its Contents.
 - II. The Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*.
-

I. THE OLD TESTAMENT AND ITS CONTENTS.

"THE Bible" is the name given to the collection of seventy-three books which go to form the Old and New Testaments. The name "Bible" is derived from the Greek βίβλια, the neuter plural of βιβλίον, "a book." Thus the name was originally plural; it has passed into the singular partly owing to a natural misunderstanding of the word, but partly also through a very true feeling regarding the real character of the Bible. For though the human authors were many, the Divine Author is but one. As St. Jerome says: "The lion of the tribe of Juda is Our Lord Jesus Christ; He 'broke the seals of the book,' and that 'book' is not merely the one book of the Psalter, as many think, but the book of all the Scriptures, for they were written by the one Holy Spirit, and are therefore termed 'one book.'"¹ It is in this sense that the Fathers speak of the "divine library" when referring to the sacred Scriptures.²

The titles "Old" and "New Testament" are familiar to us, and St. Paul uses them in 2 Cor. iii. 6, 14; but the Greek word διαθήκη in the Old Testament, for example in Gen. xvii., means rather a covenant than a will or

¹ In *Isaiam* xxix.

² See, for example, St. Jerome, *Ep.* lxxxix., to St. Augustine; also his *Preface* to Esther. In the Bible itself we read of "the books," Dan. ix. 2; of "the holy books," 1 Macc. xii. 9; cf. also 1 Macc. i. 56, 57, iii. 48; Matt. xxi. 42, xxii. 39; Luke xxiv. 32; Acts xviii. 24; John v. 39.

testament, in Heb. ix. 15-17 also it is used in this latter sense. The lawyer Tertullian habitually uses the term “instrument,” understanding thereby “a legal document.”

The Number, Order, and Arrangement of the Books of the Old Testament.

In the Latin Vulgate Bible and in the English versions made from it the books of the Old Testament fall into the following groups:

- A. HISTORICAL : *Genesis* to *Esther*.
- B. POETICAL : *Job* to *Ecclesiasticus*.
- C. PROPHETICAL : *Isaias* to *Malachias*.
- D. HISTORICAL SUPPLEMENT : 1-2 *Maccabees*.

We may further break up these groups as follows :

A. The HISTORICAL books.

(a) *Genesis* to *Deuteronomy* : the Pentateuch, or “five volumes.” These treat of the foundations of the theocracy, or divine government of Israel without the intervention of a king who should stand between God and His people. The four latter books cover the period from about 1490-1450 B.C. according to Ussher’s chronology.

(b) *Josue*, *Judges*, and *Ruth* : where we see the theocracy at work. This is the period “when there was no king in Israel”;¹ it lasted from about 1450-1100 B.C.

(c) 1-4 *Kings* and 1-2 *Paralipomenon* : the theocratic kingdom, from about 1100-562 B.C.

(d) *Esdra*s and *Nehemias*, *Tobias*, *Judith* and *Esther* : the period of the exile and the restoration, about 588-440 B.C.

(e) 1-2 *Maccabees* : the history of the wars of independence, about 166-130 B.C.

B. The POETICAL books may be divided into—

(a) The poetical books properly so called : *Job*, *Psalms* and *Canticle of Canticles*.

(b) The didactic or teaching books : *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus*.

¹ Judg. xvii. 6, xviii. 1, 31 xxi. 24.

C. The PROPHETICAL books are divided into—

(a) The major prophets: *Isaias, Jeremias, Ezechiel* and *Daniel*. They are placed in their chronological order. *Lamentations* and *Baruch* follow *Jeremias*.

(b) The minor prophets, *i.e.* *Osee, Joel, Abdias, Amos, Jonas, Micheas, Nahum, Habacuc, Sophonias, Aggeus, Zacharias, Malachias*.

The order in the principal Greek MSS. varies greatly, but it seems probable that the present order of the Latin Bibles is founded on an order preserved originally in the Greek Bibles.

In the Hebrew Bibles quite a different order is observed, the whole is divided into three parts :

A. The LAW or Thorah, *i.e.* the Pentateuch.

B. The PROPHETS.

(a) The former prophets: *Josue to Kings*.

(b) The later prophets: *Isaias, Jeremias, Ezechiel*, and the twelve *minor prophets*.

C. The WRITINGS. These fall into four groups :

(a) The poetical books: *Psalms, Proverbs, Job*.

(b) The five Megilloth or "rolls," as they were termed: *Canticle of Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther*.

(c) A prophetic book: *Daniel*.

(d) The historical books: 1-2 *Chronicles*, or in Greek *Paralipomenon*, and 1-2 *Esdras*, or *Esdras* and *Nehemias*.

The application of the term "prophets" to the historical books is at first sight strange, but it shows real insight into the character of the Biblical writings, for histories as histories have no place in them;¹ it is only as inspired histories, that is, as histories set forth for the sake of the revelation of God's dealings with men which they contain, that they find a place in the Bible. It is in this sense that the Hebrews classed these writings among "the prophets."

In the Greek and Latin Bibles, and in all Catholic

¹ On Semitic Historiography see *R.B.*, October, 1906; Sayce, *Early History of the Hebrews*, pp. 330-339, 354-355.

versions of them, we find certain books which do not appear in the Hebrew Bible nor in those versions which regard this latter as the sole source of inspired Scripture. These books are *Tobias*, *Judith*, *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Baruch*, and 1-2 *Maccabees*. They are termed *Deuterocanonical* as being derived from the second, δεῦτερος, canon, or that of the Alexandrian as opposed to the Palestinian Jews. Certain portions of *Esther* and *Daniel* are also found in the Greek text, but not in the Hebrew.¹

Counting all the books separately, we have in the Latin and Greek Bibles and in those versions derived from them forty-six books in the Old Testament. In the Hebrew Bible we have thirty-nine if we count each one separately; but the Jews themselves count them as twenty-two or sometimes twenty-four. These numbers are arrived at by counting the “law” as one book, the “prophets” as ten books, the “writings” as eleven books, or twenty-two in all. To obtain this number, however, *Ruth* was counted as one book with *Judges*, and *Lamentations* as one with *Jeremias*; if these two were enumerated separately, the resulting number was twenty-four.

The Catholic student can wish for no better introduction to the study of the Bible, the contents of which we have thus briefly summarized, than the famous *Encyclical* of Pope Leo XIII. which marked a new era in Biblical study in the Church.

¹ See below s.v. *Canon*.

II. THE ENCYCLICAL OF POPE LEO XIII. ON THE STUDY OF THE BIBLE.

(*Providentissimus Deus.*)

- I. The Bible and Revelation.
 - II. The Bible and the Preacher.
 - III. The Bible and the Catholic Church.
 - IV. How to Study the Bible.
 - V. The Bible and Theology; its Interpretation; the Fathers.
 - VI. The Authority of the Bible; Modern Criticism; Physical Science.
 - VII. Inspiration Incompatible with Error.
 - VIII. Summary.
-

I. The Bible and Revelation.

The God of all providence, who, in the adorable designs of His love, at first elevated the human race to participation in the divine nature, and then, delivering it from universal guilt and ruin, restored it to its primitive dignity, has in consequence bestowed upon man a wonderful safeguard: He has made known to him by supernatural means the hidden mysteries of His Godhead, His wisdom, and His mercy. For although in divine revelation there are contained some things which are not beyond the reach of reason but which are made the objects of such revelation in order "that all may come to know them with facility, certainty, and safety from error—yet not on this account can supernatural revelation be termed absolutely necessary; it is only necessary because God has ordained man to a supernatural end."¹ This supernatural revelation is, according

¹ Concil. Vat., Sess. iii., cap. ii., *de Rev.*

to the belief of the universal Church, contained both in unwritten tradition and in written books. These latter are called sacred and canonical because, “being written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God for their author, and as such have been delivered to the Church.”¹ This belief regarding the books of both Testaments has been perpetually held and professed by the Church; and there have come down to us from the earliest times famous and categoric declarations that God, who spoke first by the prophets, then by His own mouth, and lastly by the Apostles, also composed the canonical Scriptures² which are spoken of, now as God’s own oracles and words,³ now as letters written by our Heavenly Father and transmitted, through the sacred writers, to the human race on its pilgrimage towards its heavenly country.⁴ Since, then, the excellence and dignity of the Scriptures is such that God Himself has composed them, and that they treat of God’s marvellous mysteries, counsels and works, it follows that that branch of sacred theology which deals with the defence and interpretation of these divine books must be excellent and useful in the highest degree.

Now we, by the help of God, have endeavoured in the past—and we hope not unfruitfully—to promote by repeated letters and exhortations other branches of study likely to advance the glory of God and contribute to the salvation of souls. And we have long been pondering how we might best promote the study of Holy Scripture and give to such study a direction suitable to the needs of the present day. The solicitude of the Apostolic office urges, nay compels us, not only to hope that this glorious source of Catholic revelation may be made safely and abundantly accessible to the flock of Jesus Christ for their profit, but also to prevent it from being defiled or corrupted, either by those who impiously and openly assault the Scriptures, or by those who undermine it by their love of fallacious and imprudent novelties. We are, of course, well aware, venerable brethren,

¹ *Ibid.*

² St. Aug., *De Civ. Dei*, xi. 3.

³ St. Clem. Rom., i *ad Cor.* 45; St. Polycarp, *ad Phil.* 7; St. Irenæus, *Adv. Hæc.*, II. xxviii. 2.

⁴ St. Chrys. in Gen., *Hom.* ii. 2; St. Aug. in Ps. xxx., *Sermo* ii. 1; St. Greg. M., *ad Theod.*, *Ep.* iv. 31.

that there are many Catholics of talent and learning who do devote themselves with ardour to the defence of the sacred writings and to making them better known and understood. But while giving them the commendation they deserve we cannot but earnestly exhort others, too, whose skill, piety, and learning give promise of good results, to devote themselves to the same praiseworthy task. We earnestly desire to see an increase in the number of eager and persevering labourers in the cause of Holy Scripture; more especially do we hope that those whom divine grace has called to Holy Orders will, as their state demands, display increasing diligence and industry in reading, meditating, and explaining the Bible.

II. The Bible and the Preacher.

Among the reasons for which Holy Scripture is so worthy of commendation—quite apart from its own excellence and the homage due to God's Word—we must rank first the innumerable benefits of which it is the source. For this we have the sure testimony of the Holy Ghost Himself: "All Scripture, inspired by God, is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in justice, that the man of God may be perfect, furnished to every good work."¹ That such was the purpose of God in giving the Scriptures to men is shown by the example of Christ our Lord and His Apostles. For He Himself who "obtained authority by miracles, won men's belief by authority, and by belief drew to himself the multitude,"² was wont, in the exercise of His divine mission, to appeal to the Scriptures. He uses them to prove that He is sent by God, and is God Himself. From them He draws arguments for the instruction of His disciples and the confirmation of His doctrine. He vindicates them from the calumnies of objectors; He quotes them against the Sadducees and Pharisees, He retorts from them upon Satan when he dares to tempt Him. Dying, His utterances are from Holy Scripture, and it is the Scripture that He expounds to His disciples after His resurrection until His ascent to the glory of His Father. In harmony

¹ 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17.

² St. Aug., *de Util. Cred.*, xiv. 32.

with this the Apostles, although He granted “signs and wonders to be done by their hands,”¹ used the Bible with the greatest effect in persuading the Gentiles of the wisdom of Christianity, and in suppressing the outbreak of heresy. This appears in their discourses, especially in those of St. Peter, which were often little else than a series of citations from the Old Testament that made in the strongest manner for the new dispensation. We find the same in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, and in the Epistles known as “Catholic”; most remarkably is it shown in the words of him who “boasts that he learned the law at the feet of Gamaliel, so that, being armed with spiritual weapons, he might afterwards say with confidence, ‘The arms of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty unto God.’”² All, then, especially ecclesiastical students, should realize in what esteem they must hold the Bible, with what eagerness and reverence approach this arsenal of heavenly weapons. Those who have to expound Catholic doctrine to learned or unlearned alike will nowhere find more ample material for their sermons, whether they are treating of God the supreme Good and the all-perfect Being, or of the works which display His glory and His love. Nowhere can we find more express teaching on the Saviour of the world than in the whole range of the Bible. As St. Jerome says, “To be ignorant of the Scripture is not to know Christ.”³ For in its pages His image is portrayed, living and breathing, everywhere diffusing consolation in trouble, encouragement to virtue, and drawing men to love of God. As for the Church, her institutions, her nature, her office, and her gifts, we find in Holy Scripture so many references and so many ready and convincing arguments that, as St. Jerome again most truly says, “A man well grounded in the testimonies of the Scriptures is the bulwark of the Church.”⁴ When dealing with questions of morality and discipline, Apostolic men find in the Bible abundant and excellent assistance: holy precepts, exhortations couched in gentlest yet most forceful terms, splendid examples of every virtue; and, most important of all, promises of eternal reward and threats of eternal punishment, all of them

¹ Acts xiv. 3. ² St. Jerome, *de Stud. Script.* ad Paulin., *Ep.* liii. 3.

³ In Isaiam, *Frologus*.

⁴ In Isaiam liv. 12.

uttered in terms of solemn import, in God's name and in God's own words.

It is this peculiar and singular power of Holy Scripture, due to the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, that gives authority to the preacher, fills him with Apostolic liberty of speech, and communicates a triumphant force and power to his eloquence. For those who infuse into their efforts the spirit and might of the Word of God speak "not in word, but in power also, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much fulness."¹ Hence preachers are foolish and improvident if, in speaking of religion and proclaiming the things of God, they only use arguments derived from human science and prudence; if they trust to their own reasonings rather than to those of God; they must be considered illogical and short-sighted. Their discourses may sound brilliant, but must in reality be feeble and cold, for they lack the fire of the utterance of God;² they must fall far short of that mighty power which the speech of God possesses: "For the Word of God is living and effectual, and more piercing than any two-edged sword; and reaching unto the division of the soul and the spirit."³ As all who have a right to speak are agreed, there is in Holy Scripture a wonderful eloquence, varied and rich, worthy of great themes. This St. Augustine clearly saw, and he frequently dwells upon it.⁴ The best preachers, too, of all ages have gratefully acknowledged that they owed their repute chiefly to assiduous use of the Bible and devout meditation on its pages.

The Fathers, too, well knew this by practical experience; they continually extol Holy Scripture and the fruits derived from its study. In innumerable passages of their writings they speak of the Bible as "an inexhaustible treasury of heavenly doctrine,"⁵ "an everflowing fountain of salvation";⁶ "fertile pastures and beautiful gardens in which the flock of the Lord is marvellously refreshed and delighted."⁷ Hence St. Jerome's practical advice to Nepotian: "Often

¹ 1 Thess. i. 5.

² Jer. xxiii. 29.

³ Heb. iv. 12.

⁴ *De Doctr. Christ.*, iv. 6, 7.

⁵ St. Chrys. in Gen., *Hom.* xxi. 21; *Hom.* lx. 3; St. Aug., *de Doctr. Christ.*, ii.

⁶ St. Athan., *Ep. fest.* xxxix.

⁷ St. Aug., *Serm.* xxvi. 24; St. Ambr. in Ps. cxviii., *Serm.* xix. 2.

read the divine Scriptures; yea, let them be always in thy hand; study that which thou thyself must preach. . . . Let the speech of the priest be ever seasoned with Scriptural reading.”¹ So, too, St. Gregory the Great, who has so admirably described the pastoral office, writes: “Those who are zealous in the work of preaching must never cease studying Holy Scripture.”² Yet we must bear in mind St. Augustine’s warning: “vainly does the preacher have the Word of God on his lips if he listens not to it in his heart”;³ and St. Gregory instructs preachers “first to find in Holy Scripture the knowledge of themselves and then teach it to others, lest while reproving others they neglect themselves.”⁴ Admonitions such as these had, indeed, been given long before by the Apostolic voice of one who had learnt his lesson from the teaching and example of Christ Himself who “began to do and to teach.” It was not to Timothy alone but to the whole clerical order that the command was addressed: “Take heed to thyself and to doctrine; be earnest in them. For in doing this thou shalt both save thyself and them that hear thee.”⁵ For saving and perfecting ourselves and others the very best of help is provided in Holy Scripture, as the Psalter so constantly insists; but only those will find it who bring to this divine reading not simply mental docility and attention, but also a will attuned to habits of piety and innocence. For the sacred Scriptures are not like other books. Dictated by the Holy Ghost, they contain things of the deepest importance which in many instances are most difficult and obscure. To understand and explain such things we always “need the approach”⁶ of the same Holy Spirit, that is to say His light and His grace which, as the royal Psalmist so frequently insists, are to be sought by humble prayer and guarded by holiness of life.

¹ St. Jerome, *De vita cleric.*, ad Nepot.

² St. Greg. M., *Regul. Past.*, ii. 11 (*al.* 22); *Moral.*, xviii, 26 (*al.* 14).

³ St. Aug., *Serm.* clxxix. 1.

⁴ St. Greg. M., *Regul. Past.*, iii. 24 (*al.* 48).

⁵ 1 Tim. iv. 16.

⁶ St. Jerome in Mich. i. 10.

III. The Bible and the Catholic Church.

The watchful care of the Church on this point has always been evident in the admirable laws and regulations wherein she has always shown her anxiety lest "the heavenly treasure of the sacred books, so bountifully bestowed upon man by the Holy Spirit, should lie neglected."¹ She has prescribed that a considerable portion of the Bible shall be read and piously reflected upon by all her ministers in the daily office of the sacred psalmody. She has also ordered that in cathedral churches, in the monasteries and convents of religious orders where such studies can more conveniently be pursued, the Bible shall be expounded and interpreted by capable men; and she has strictly commanded that her children shall be fed with the saving words of the Gospel at least on Sundays and solemn feasts.² Moreover, it is owing to the wisdom and exertions of the Church that there has always been maintained from century to century that cultivation of Holy Scripture which has been so remarkable and which has borne such ample fruit.

And here, in order to strengthen our teaching and exhortations, it is well to recall how, from the beginning of Christianity, all who have been renowned for holiness of life and sacred learning have given deep and constant attention to Holy Scripture. Take the immediate disciples of the Apostles, St. Clement of Rome, St. Ignatius of Antioch, and St. Polycarp, or such apologists as St. Justin and St. Irenæus: in their letters and treatises, whether in defence of the Catholic faith or in its commendation, they draw faith, strength, and unction from the Word of God. When in various sees there arose catechetical and theological schools, of which the most celebrated were those of Alexandria and Antioch, hardly anything was there taught but what was contained in the reading, interpretation and defence of the divine written word. From these schools came numbers of Fathers and writers whose laborious studies and admirable writings have justly merited for the three following centuries the appellation of the golden age of Biblical

¹ Conc. Trid., Sess. v., *Decret. de Reform.*, 1.

² *Ibid.* 1-2.

exegesis. In the East the greatest name of all is Origen—a man remarkable alike for penetrating genius and unremitting toil; from his numerous works and his prodigious *Hexapla* almost all have drawn that came after him. Many other names of men eminent for the light they have shed on the Bible might be given. Thus Alexandria could boast of St. Clement and St. Cyril; Palestine of Eusebius and the other St. Cyril; Cappadocia of St. Basil the Great and the two St. Gregories—of Nazianzus and Nyssa; Antioch of St. John Chrysostom, whose spiritual learning was rivalled by the splendour of his eloquence. Nor was the Western Church behindhand. Such men as Tertullian, St. Cyprian, St. Hilary, St. Ambrose, St. Leo the Great, St. Gregory the Great stand out. But most famous of all are St. Augustine and St. Jerome, of whom the former was so marvellously discerning in penetrating the sense of God's Word and so fertile in the use that he made of it for the promotion of Catholic truth, while the latter has received from the Church, by reason of his pre-eminent knowledge of Scripture and the great labour he expended in promoting its use, the title of the “greatest Doctor.”¹ From this period down to the eleventh century, although Biblical studies did not flourish with the same vigour and the same fruitfulness as before, yet they did flourish, and principally by the instrumentality of the clergy. For with careful solicitude they selected the best and most useful things that the earlier Fathers had left, arranged them in order, and published them with additions of their own. Among the most prominent in this respect were St. Isidore of Seville, Venerable Bede, and Alcuin. Others illustrated the sacred pages with “glosses” or short commentaries, for example Walafrid Strabo and St. Anselm of Laon. Others devoted themselves to securing the accuracy of copies of the Bible, for example St. Peter Damian and the Blessed Lanfranc. In the twelfth century many took up with great success the allegorical exposition of Scripture. In this St. Bernard is pre-eminent, and his sermons may be described as Scripture all through. When the scholastic method came into vogue, fresh and welcome progress in the study of the Bible was

¹ See the Collect on his feast, September 30.

made. That the scholastics were solicitous about the genuine text of the Latin version is evident from their *Correctoria Biblica*; but they expended their labours and industry chiefly on interpretation and explanation. To them we owe the accurate and clear distinction—such as had not been given before—of the various “senses” of sacred Scripture; the determination of the precise value to be assigned to each “sense” in theological argument; the division of books into parts, the careful tracing out of the line of argument followed in each; the investigation of the object each writer had in view; and the discovery of the connection of sentence with sentence and clause with clause. All this is calculated to throw much light on the more obscure passages of the sacred volume. The valuable work of these scholastics on Holy Scripture is seen in their theological treatises and in their Scripture commentaries; in this respect the greatest name among them all is that of St. Thomas of Aquin.

When our predecessor, Clement V., established chairs of Oriental literature in the Roman College and in the principal Universities of Europe, Catholics began to make more accurate investigation into the original text of the Bible as well as of the Latin version. The revival amongst us of Greek learning, and, much more, the happy invention of the art of printing, gave a great impetus to Biblical studies. It is remarkable in how brief a space of time innumerable editions, especially of the Vulgate, poured from the press and were spread throughout the Catholic world, so honoured and loved was Holy Scripture during that very period against which the enemies of the Church direct their calumnies. Nor must we forget how many learned men there were, chiefly among the religious orders, who did excellent work for the Bible between the Council of Vienne and that of Trent—men who, by the employment of modern means and appliances and by their own genius and learning, not only added to the rich stores of ancient times, but prepared the way for that glorious period, the century which followed the Council of Trent, when it almost seemed that the great age of the Fathers had returned. For it is well known, and we recall it with pleasure, that to our predecessors from Pius IV. to Clement VIII. was due the

preparation of the celebrated editions of the Vulgate and Septuagint which, published by the command and authority of Sixtus V. and Clement VIII., are now in common use. At this time, too, various other ancient versions of the Bible, as well as the Polyglots of Antwerp and Paris, were carefully edited, works most important for discerning the true meaning of the text. Indeed there is no single book of either Testament which did not at this period find more than one expositor, nor are there any grave Biblical questions which did not profitably exercise the minds of various inquirers, among whom there are many—more especially of those who made most use of the writings of the Fathers—whose reputation is very great. From that time onwards the labour and solicitude of Catholics have never been wanting; for as time went on, eminent scholars have carried on Biblical study with success, and have defended Holy Scripture against “rationalism” with the same weapons of philology and kindred sciences with which it had been attacked. Unprejudiced consideration of what has been said will clearly show that the Church has never failed to take due means to bring the Scriptures within reach of her children, and that she has ever held fast and exercised profitably that guardianship conferred upon her by Almighty God for the protection and glory of His Holy Word; she has never required, nor does she now require, any stimulus from without.

IV. How to Study the Bible.

We must now, venerable brethren, as our purpose demands, give such counsels as seem best suited for carrying on Biblical study successfully.

But first we must clearly understand against whom we have to contend and what are their tactics and weapons. In earlier times the contest was chiefly with those who, relying on private judgement and repudiating the divine traditions and teaching office of the Church, held the Scriptures to be the one source of revelation and the final appeal in matters of faith. Now we have to meet the Rationalists, true children and inheritors of the older heretics; these, trusting in their turn to their own way of

thinking, have rejected even the scraps and remnants of Christian belief which had been handed down to them. They deny that there is any such thing as revelation or inspiration, or Holy Scripture at all; they regard such notions as merely human forgeries and falsehoods; they set down the Scripture narratives as stupid fables and lying stories; for them the prophecies and oracles of God are either predictions made up after the event or guesses arrived at by the light of nature; neither are the miracles and the wonders of God's power what they are said to be, but either startling effects not really beyond the powers of natural law, or mere tricks and myths; lastly, the Apostolic Gospels and writings are not really the work of the Apostles at all, but of quite other authors. These portentous doctrines, whereby men think to destroy the truth of the divine books, are obtruded on the world as peremptory pronouncements of a certain newly invented "free science"—a science, however, which is so far from final that its very advocates are perpetually modifying and supplementing it. Some of them, notwithstanding their impious opinions and utterances about God and Christ, about the Gospels and the rest of Holy Scripture, would fain be considered Christian theologians and men of the Gospel; by such honourable names they attempt to disguise their rashness and their pride. In their camp are to be found, too, professors of other sciences who approve their views and give them assistance; it is intolerance of revelation which impels such men to attack the Bible. How deplorable it is to see these attacks growing every day more numerous and more severe! Sometimes it is men of learning and judgement who are assailed, but they have little difficulty in defending themselves. In general the efforts and the arts of the enemy are chiefly directed against the more ignorant masses of the people. They spread abroad their deadly poison by means of books, pamphlets, and newspapers; they bring it into their addresses and their conversation; they are found everywhere and are in possession of numerous schools where young people are not under the Church's guardianship, and in which, by ridicule and scurrilous jesting, they induce the credulous and unformed minds of the young to treat Holy Scripture with contempt. Should not these things, venerable brethren, stir

up and set on fire the heart of every pastor, so that to this "knowledge, falsely so called,"¹ may be opposed the ancient and true science which the Church, through the Apostles, has received from Christ, and so Holy Scripture may find the champions so much needed in this momentous contest?

Let our first care, then, be to see that in seminaries and academical institutions the study of Holy Scripture be placed on such a footing as its own importance and the circumstances of the time demand. It will be clear that with such a goal in view nothing will call for more care than the prudent selection of professors. Teachers of sacred Scripture are not to be appointed at haphazard out of the crowd; they must be men whose character and fitness are proved by their love of the Bible, their long familiarity with it, and the fact that they are equipped with the requisite learning.

It is equally a matter of importance to provide in time for a continuous succession of such teachers; and it will be well, wherever possible, to select young men of promise who have passed successfully through their theological course, and set them apart exclusively for the study of Holy Scripture while affording them facilities for full and complete studies. Professors thus chosen and thus prepared can confidently enter on the task appointed them; but if they would carry this out well and profitably, attention must be paid to the following instructions.

From the very commencement of the course of Scripture study the professor should watch over the minds of students with a view to the careful training and cultivation of their powers of judgement so that they may learn not only to defend Holy Scripture but how best to discover its meaning. This is the object of "Introductory" treatises, wherein the student is taught how to prove the integrity and authority of the Bible, how to investigate and ascertain its true meaning, and how to meet and refute objections. These preliminary studies must be made in an orderly and thorough fashion, with the accompaniment and assistance of theology; for the whole subsequent course will depend on the foundation thus laid and the light thus acquired. The professor will next turn his earnest attention to that more

¹ 1 Tim. vi. 20.

fruitful department of Scripture study which deals with interpretation; for here the student learns how to use the treasures of Holy Scripture in teaching people religion and piety. Of course neither the extent of the matter nor the time at disposal allows each single book of the Bible to be separately gone through. But the teaching given should result in the acquisition of a definite method of interpretation; hence the professor should avoid giving a mere taste of every book, nor should he dwell at too great length on a part of any one book. Most schools cannot do what is done in larger institutions—that is, take the students minutely through the whole of one or two books; yet parts selected should be treated with suitable fulness; students will thus learn from the samples put before them to love and use the rest of the Bible throughout their lives. The professor, following the tradition of antiquity, will use the Vulgate as his text; for the Council of Trent has decreed that “in public lectures, disputations, preaching and exposition,”¹ the Vulgate is to be regarded as the “authentic” version; and this is the actual custom of the Church. Yet the other versions which Christian antiquity has approved should not be neglected, more especially the more ancient MSS. For although the meaning of the Hebrew and the Greek is substantially rendered by the Vulgate, nevertheless, where there is ambiguity or want of clearness, the “examination of older tongues,”² to quote St. Augustine, will be useful and advantageous. We need hardly say that the greatest prudence is here required, for the “office of a commentor,” as St. Jerome says, “is to set forth, not what he himself would prefer, but what his author says.”³ The question of the actual text having been, when necessary, carefully discussed, the next thing is to investigate and expound its meaning. The first point to be noted is that the generally approved principles of interpretation should be rigidly adhered to and in inverse proportion to the intensity with which critics assail them. Consequently we should, in weighing the meanings of words, the connection of ideas, the parallelism of passages, and the like, by all means make use of such illustrations as can be

¹ Sess. iv., *Decret. de edit. et usu Sac. Libr.*

² *De Doct. Christ.*, iii. 4.

³ *Ad Pammachium.*

drawn from apposite erudition of an external sort ; but this should be done with caution, we should not bestow on questions of this kind more labour and time than are spent on the sacred books themselves, with the consequent danger of overloading the minds of the students with a mass of information that will be rather a hindrance than a help.

V. The Bible and Theology ; its Interpretation ; the Fathers.

The professor may now safely pass on to the use of Scripture in matters of theology. On this head it must be observed that in addition to the usual reasons which make ancient writings more or less difficult to understand, there are some which are peculiar to the Bible. For, since it is inspired by the Holy Ghost, the language of the Bible is employed to express many things which are wholly beyond the power and scope of man's reason—namely divine mysteries and many things that follow from them. And these things are sometimes expressed in passages having a fulness and a hidden depth of meaning which the letter can hardly express nor the laws of interpretation clearly bring out. Moreover the literal sense itself frequently admits other meanings which serve to illustrate dogma or to enforce moral teaching. It should then be recognized that the sacred writings are wrapt in a certain religious obscurity so that no one can enter upon the study of them without a guide.¹ God purposely allows this so that, as the Fathers often say, men may investigate these writings with greater ardour and earnestness, and what is thus attained with difficulty may sink more deeply into the mind and heart ; and so that, most of all, men may realize that God has entrusted His Scriptures to the Church, with the result that in reading His word men must follow the Church as their guide and their teacher. St. Irenæus long since laid down that where the *charismata* of God were, there the truth was to be learnt, and that Holy Scripture was only safely interpreted by those who had the Apostolic succession.² His teaching, which is

¹ St. Jerome, *ad Paulin. de Studio Script.*, Ep. liii. 4.

² *Adv. Hær.*, iv. 26, 5.

that of other Fathers too, is endorsed by the Vatican Council, which, in renewing the decree of Trent on the interpretation of the written word of God, declares "the 'mind' of the Council to be that in things of faith and morals which pertain to the building up of Christian doctrine, that is to be considered the true sense of Holy Scripture which has been and is held by our holy mother the Church to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Scriptures; and that consequently it is permitted to no one to interpret Holy Scripture against such sense or against the unanimous agreement of the Fathers."¹ By this wise decree the Church in no sense prevents or limits our pursuit of Biblical science; rather does she protect it from error and thus largely assist its real progress. For a wide field is still left open to the individual teacher in which he may exercise his hermeneutical skill to the advantage of the Church. For when it is question of passages of Holy Scripture which have not as yet received a certain and definite interpretation, the labours of individuals may, in the kindly providence of God, prepare for and bring to maturity the judgement of the Church; while in passages whose meaning has already been made clear, the individual teacher may do work equally valuable, by expounding them more clearly to the faithful and more skilfully to scholars, or by defending them more powerfully from hostile attack. Wherefore the Catholic commentator should make it his aim when it is question of passages which have received an authentic interpretation—whether from the sacred writers themselves under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost (as in many places of the New Testament), or from the Church, under the assistance of the same Holy Spirit, *whether by her solemn judgement or her ordinary and universal "magisterium"*²—to interpret them in that same fashion and, by all the resources of his training, prove that sound hermeneutical laws admit of no other interpretation. In other passages the analogy of faith should be followed, and Catholic doctrine, as authoritatively proposed by the Church, should

¹ Sess. iii., cap. ii., *de Revel.*; cf. Conc. Trid., Sess. iv., *Decret. de edit. et usu Sacr. Libr.*

² Conc. Vat., Sess. iii., cap. iii., *de fide.*

be the final criterion; for since one and the same God is the author both of the sacred books and of the doctrine committed to the Church, it is clearly impossible that any teaching can be legitimately extracted from the former which shall in any respect be at variance with the latter. Hence all interpretation is foolish and false which either makes the sacred writers disagree one with another, or is opposed to the doctrine of the Church. The professor of Holy Scripture must therefore, in addition to other qualifications, be well acquainted with the whole circle of theology and deeply read in the commentaries of the Fathers, doctors, and other interpreters of mark.¹ This is inculcated by St. Jerome, and still more frequently by St. Augustine, who justly remarks that: “If there is no branch of teaching, howsoever humble and easy to learn, which does not require a master, what can be a greater sign of rashness and pride than to refuse to study the books of the divine mysteries under the guidance of those who have interpreted them?”² Other Fathers have said the same and confirmed it by their example, for they “endeavoured to acquire the understanding of the Holy Scriptures, not by their own lights and ideas, but from the writings and authority of the ancients, who in their turn, as we know, received the rule of interpretation in direct line from the Apostles.”³ The Fathers, “to whom, after the Apostles, the Church owes its growth—who have planted, watered, built, governed, and cherished it”⁴—the Fathers, we say, are of supreme authority whenever they all interpret in one and the same manner any text of the Bible pertaining to doctrine touching faith or morals; for their unanimity clearly shows that such interpretation has come down from the Apostles as a matter of Catholic faith. The opinion of the Fathers is also of very great weight when they treat of these matters in their capacity of private teachers, and this not only because they excel in their knowledge of revealed doctrine and in their acquaintance with many things useful in understanding the Apostolic books, but because they are men of eminent sanctity and of ardent zeal for the truth, men, too, on whom God has bestowed a

¹ *Ibid.* 6, 7.

² *Ad Honorat. de util. cred.*, xvii. 35.

³ Rufinus, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 9.

⁴ St. Aug., *c. Julian.*, ii. 10, 37.

more ample measure of His light. Wherefore the expositor should make it his duty to follow in their footsteps with all reverence and to use their labours with intelligent appreciation.

Yet a student must not consider that he is therefore precluded from pushing inquiry and exposition, when just cause exists, beyond what the Fathers have done; at the same time he must carefully observe the rule so wisely laid down by St. Augustine—not to depart from the literal and obvious sense, except where reason makes it untenable or necessity requires¹—a rule to which it is the more necessary to adhere strictly in these times when the thirst for novelty and unrestrained freedom of thought make the danger of error most real and proximate. Neither should those passages be neglected which the Fathers have understood in an allegorical or figurative sense, more especially when such interpretation is justified by the literal sense, and when it rests on the authority of many. For this method of interpretation has been received by the Church from the Apostles, and has been approved by her own practice, as the Liturgy attests. At the same time it is true that the Fathers did not thereby pretend directly to demonstrate dogmas of faith, but used such interpretations as a means of promoting virtue and piety, since by their own experience they knew it to be most valuable. The authority of other Catholic interpreters is not so great as that of the Fathers, but since the study of Scripture has always continued to advance in the Church, their commentaries also have their own honourable place and are serviceable in many ways for the refutation of assailants and the explanation of difficulties. Indeed it is most unbecoming to ignore or despise the excellent work which Catholics have left in abundance, and to have recourse to the works of non-Catholics, with a view to seeking in them, to the detriment of sound doctrine and often with danger to our faith, the explanation of passages on which Catholics have long since successfully employed their talent and their labour. For although the studies of non-Catholics may, when used with prudence, be at times of use to the Catholic student, he should nevertheless bear well in mind—as the Fathers con-

¹ *De Gen. ad litt.*, VIII. vii. 13.

stantly teach¹—that the sense of Holy Scripture can nowhere be found incorrupt outside the Church; nor can we expect to find it in writers who, being without the true faith, only gnaw the bark of the sacred Scripture and never reach its pith.²

It is most desirable, and indeed essential, that the whole of our theological teaching should be pervaded and animated by the use of the divine Word of God. That is what the Fathers and the greatest theologians of all ages have consistently proclaimed and have themselves carried out in practice. It was chiefly out of the sacred writings that they endeavoured to proclaim and establish the Articles of Faith and the truths therewith connected; in them, in combination with divine tradition, they found the refutation of heretical error, and the reasonableness, the true meaning, and the mutual relation of the truths of Catholicism. Nor will anyone wonder at this when he realizes that the sacred books hold such an eminent position among the sources of revelation that without their assiduous study and use theology cannot be placed on its true footing nor treated as its dignity demands. For although it is right and proper that students in academies and schools should be chiefly exercised in acquiring a scientific knowledge of dogma by reasoning from the Articles of Faith to their consequences, according to the rules of approved and sound philosophy, nevertheless the judicious and really learned theologian will by no means pass by that method of doctrinal demonstration which draws its proof from the authority of the Bible; “for [theology] does not receive her first principles from any other science, but immediately from God by revelation. Therefore she does not receive of other sciences as from a superior, but uses them as her inferiors or handmaids.” This is the view of doctrinal teaching laid down and recommended by the prince of theologians, St. Thomas of Aquin,³ who, moreover, shows—such being the essential character of Christian theology—how she can

¹ Cf. Clem. Alex., *Strom.* vii. 16; Orig., *de Princ.* iv. 8; in Levit., Hom. iv. 8; Tertull., *de Præscr.* 15 et sqq.; St. Hilar. Pict., in Matt. xiii. 1.

² St. Greg. M., *Moral.* xx. 9 (al. 11).

³ *Summa Theol.*, Ia. i. 5 ad 2m.

defend her own principles against attack: "If an adversary," he says, "do but grant any portion of divine revelation, we have an argument against him; thus against a heretic we can employ Scripture authority, and against those who deny one article of faith we can use another. But if our opponent reject divine revelation entirely, there is then no way left to prove the Articles of Faith by reasoning; we can only solve the difficulties which are raised against them."¹ Care must be taken, then, that beginners approach the study of the Bible well prepared and equipped; otherwise just hopes will be frustrated, or perchance, what is worse, they will unthinkingly risk the danger of error and so fall an easy prey to the sophisms and apparent erudition of the Rationalists. The best preparation will be a conscientious application to philosophy and theology under the guidance of St. Thomas of Aquin, and a thorough training therein, as we ourselves have elsewhere pointed out and directed. By this means, both in Biblical studies and in that part of theology which is called *positive*, students will pursue the right path and make satisfactory progress.

VI. The Authority of the Bible; Modern Criticism; Physical Science.

To prove, to expound, to illustrate Catholic doctrine by the legitimate and skilful interpretation of the Bible is much; but there is a second part of the subject of equal importance and equal difficulty—the vindication of the full and complete authority of the Bible. This cannot be done completely or satisfactorily except by means of the living and true teaching office of the Church. The Church, "by reason of her wonderful propagation, her wonderful sanctity and inexhaustible fruitfulness in all good works, her Catholic unity, and her unshaken stability, is in her own self a great and perpetual motive of credibility, and an unassailable testimony to her own divine mission."² But since even the divine and infallible teaching office (*magisterium*) of the Church itself rests on the authority of Holy Scripture, we must first of all show how—even humanly speaking—

¹ *Ibid.* 8.

² Conc. Vat., Sess. iii., c. iii., *de fide*.

this statement is sound; we must, that is, show from which books—as being thoroughly reliable witnesses to the voice of antiquity—we can clearly prove the divinity and the mission of Christ our Lord, the institution of an hierarchical Church, and the primacy of Peter and his successors. It is most desirable, therefore, that many clerics should be well equipped for this task and so be able to meet hostile attacks. But they must be men who have learned to trust chiefly in that “armour of God” recommended by the Apostle;¹ they must also be well acquainted with modern critical methods. This is beautifully set out by St. John Chrysostom when describing the duties of priests: “We must use every endeavour that the ‘word of God may dwell in us abundantly’;² not merely for one kind of fight must we be prepared, for the contest is many-sided, and our versatile foes do not all use the same weapons nor make their onset in the same way. Wherefore the man who has to contend against all must needs be acquainted with the engines and the arts of all. He must be at once archer and slinger, commandant and officer, general and private soldier, foot-soldier and horseman, skilled in sea-fight and in siege; for unless such a man knows every trick and turn of war, the devil is well able, if only a single door be left open, to get in his fierce bands and carry off the sheep.”³ The wiles of the enemy and his manifold methods of attack we have already touched upon. Let us now say a word on the means of defence. The first means is the study of the Oriental languages and of what is known as the art of criticism. These two acquirements are held in high esteem in these days; consequently the clergy, by making themselves more fully acquainted with them as time and place may demand, will be the better able to discharge their office with due credit; they have to make themselves “all to all,”⁴ always “ready to satisfy every one that asketh them a reason for the hope that is in them.”⁵ Hence professors of sacred Scripture must master those tongues in which the sacred books were originally written, indeed it could be wished that professors of theology should do so too. It would be well, too, that Church students

¹ Eph. vi. 13 *sqq.*

² Cf. Col. iii. 16.

³ *De Sacerdotio*, iv. 4.

⁴ 1 Cor. ix. 22.

⁵ 1 Pet. iii. 15.

should cultivate them, more especially those who aspire to academic degrees. We should endeavour to establish in all academic institutions—as has already been laudably done in many—chairs of the other ancient languages, especially the Semitic, and of allied subjects, principally for the benefit of those who are intended to be professors of Holy Scripture. For the same reason these latter should make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the art of true criticism. For there has arisen, to the great detriment of religion, an erroneous theoretical method, dignified by the name of the “higher criticism,” which pretends to judge of the origin, integrity, and authority of each book from internal indications alone. Yet it is clear that in historical questions such as the origin and the handing down of writings the witness of history is of primary importance, though it must be carefully sifted; whereas internal evidence is seldom of great value except as confirmation. The converse procedure can only result in opening the door to many evil consequences, for it will only make the enemies of religion much more bold and confident in their attacks on the authenticity of the sacred books; while this vaunted “higher criticism” will in the end merely resolve itself into the reflection of the bias and the prejudice of the critics. It will not throw on Scripture the light required, nor prove of any advantage to doctrine; it will only give rise to disagreement and dissension, those sure marks of error which the critics in question so plentifully exhibit in their own persons; seeing, too, that most of them are tainted with false philosophy and rationalism, it must lead to the elimination from the sacred writings of all prophecy and miracle and of everything else that transcends the natural order.

In the second place we have to contend against those who, making a wrong use of physical science, minutely scrutinize the sacred books in order to convict the writers of scientific errors, and hence take occasion to scoff at the Bible. Attacks of this kind, bearing as they do on matters of sensible experience, are peculiarly dangerous to the masses, and also to young people who are beginning their literary studies; for these latter, if they lose their reverence for the Holy Scripture on one or more points, are easily led to give up believing in it altogether. It need not be

pointed out how natural science, so admirably adapted to show forth the glory of the great Creator—provided it be taught as it should be—may, if it be perversely imparted to the youthful intelligence, prove most fatal in destroying the principles of true philosophy and in corrupting morality. Hence to the professor of sacred Scripture a knowledge of natural science will be of very great assistance in detecting and refuting such attacks on the sacred books. There can never, indeed, be any real discrepancy between the theologian and the physicist so long as each confines himself within his own lines and both are careful, as St. Augustine warns us, "not to make rash assertions, nor to assert as known what is not known."¹ If dissension should arise between them, here is another rule laid down by St. Augustine for the theologian: "Whatever men can really demonstrate to be true of physical nature, we must show to be capable of reconciliation with our Scriptures; and whatever they assert in their treatises which is contrary to our Scriptures—that is to the Catholic faith—we must either prove, as well as we can, to be entirely false, or at all events we must without the smallest hesitation believe it be so."² To appreciate the justice of the rule here formulated we must remember, first that the sacred writers—or to speak more accurately, the Holy Ghost "who spoke by them—did not intend to teach men these things (that is to say, the essential nature of the things of the visible universe), things in no way profitable unto salvation."³ Hence they did not seek to penetrate the secrets of nature but rather described and dealt with things in more or less figurative language, or in terms which were commonly used at the time, and which in many instances are in daily use at this day, even by the most eminent men of science. Ordinary speech primarily and properly describes what comes under the senses; and somewhat in the same way the sacred writers—as the angelic doctor also reminds us—"went by what sensibly appeared,"⁴ in other words they put down what God, speaking to men, signified in the way men could understand and to which they were accustomed.

¹ *In Gen., op. imperf.*, ix. 30.

³ St. Aug., *ibid.* XI. ix. 20.

² *De Gen. ad litt.*, I. xxi. 41.

⁴ *Summa Theol.*, Ia. lxx. 1 ad 3m.

Whole-hearted defence of Holy Scripture does not, however, require that we should equally uphold all the opinions which each of the Fathers or the more recent interpreters have put forth in explaining it; for it may be that, in commenting on passages where physical matters are mentioned, they have sometimes expressed the ideas of their own times, and have thus made statements which in these days have been abandoned as incorrect. Hence in their interpretations we must carefully note what they lay down as belonging to faith, or as intimately connected with faith, and what they all unanimously hold. For "in those things which do not come under the obligation of faith, the saints were," according to St. Thomas, "at liberty to hold divergent opinions, just as we ourselves are."¹ In another place the same angelic doctor points out that: "When philosophers are agreed upon a point, and it is not contrary to our faith, it is safer, in my opinion, neither to lay down that such a point is a dogma of faith—even though it is, perhaps, so presented by the philosophers—nor to reject it as being contrary to the faith, lest we thus give to the wise of this world an occasion for despising our faith."² And while the Catholic interpreter should show that those facts of natural science which investigators affirm to be now quite certain are not contrary to the Scripture rightly explained, he must nevertheless always bear in mind that many things which have been held by scientists as proved beyond doubt have afterwards been called in question and repudiated. And if writers on physics travel outside the boundaries of their own department, and carry their erroneous teaching into the domain of philosophy, the theologian can safely leave it to philosophers to repute such notions.

VII. Inspiration Incompatible with Error.

The principles here laid down will apply to cognate sciences, and especially to history. It is indeed lamentable that so many laboriously carry out investigations on the monuments of antiquity, the manners and institutions of

¹ In 2 *Sent.* ii., *Dist.* q. 1, 3.

² *Opusc.* x.

nations, and other kindred subjects, and yet that their chief purpose in all this should only too often be merely to find mistakes in the sacred writings, and so to shake and weaken their authority. Some of these writers display not only extreme hostility, but the greatest unfairness; in their eyes a profane book or ancient document is to be accepted without hesitation, whilst the Scriptures, if they only find in them a suspicion of error, are set down—with but the slightest possible discussion—as quite untrustworthy. It is true, no doubt, that copyists have made mistakes in the text of the Bible; this question, when it arises, should of course be carefully considered on its merits, and the fact must not be too easily admitted, save in those passages where the proof is clear. It may also happen, too, that the sense of a passage remains ambiguous, though in this case good hermeneutical methods will greatly assist in clearing up the obscurity. But it is absolutely wrong and forbidden either to limit inspiration to certain parts only of Holy Scripture, or to admit that the sacred writer has erred. For there are men who, in order to rid themselves of these difficulties, do not hesitate to concede that divine inspiration is strictly limited to the things of faith and morals, and this on the ground that (as they wrongly think) in a question of the truth or falsehood of a passage we should consider not so much what God has said as the reason and purpose which He had in mind in saying it. But such methods cannot be tolerated. For all the books which the Church receives as sacred and canonical are written wholly and entirely, with all their parts, at the dictation of the Holy Ghost; and so far is it from being possible that any error can co-exist with inspiration, that inspiration not only is essentially incompatible with error, but excludes and rejects it as absolutely and necessarily as it is impossible that God Himself, the supreme Truth, can utter that which is not true. This is the ancient and unchanging faith of the Church, solemnly defined in the Councils of Florence and Trent, and finally confirmed and more expressly formulated by the Council of the Vatican which says: “The books of the Old and New Testament, whole and entire, with all their parts, as enumerated in the decree of the same Council (Trent), and

as set forth in the ancient Latin Vulgate, are to be received as sacred and canonical. Now the Church regards these books as sacred and canonical, not because, having been composed simply by human industry, they were afterwards approved by her authority, nor only because they contain revelation without error, but because, having been written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God for their author."¹ Hence, because the Holy Ghost employed men as His instruments, we cannot therefore say that it was these inspired instruments who perchance have fallen into error, and not the primary author. For, by His supernatural power, He so moved and impelled them to write—He was so present to them as they wrote—that all the things which He ordered, and those only, they both rightly understood, then willed faithfully to write down, and finally expressed in apt words and with infallible truth. Otherwise it could not be said that God was the author of the entire Scripture. Such has always been the persuasion of the Fathers. "Therefore," says St. Augustine, "since they wrote the things which He showed and said to them, it cannot be pretended that He is not the writer; for His members executed what their Head dictated."² Similarly St. Gregory the Great: "Most superfluous it is to inquire who wrote these things, provided we loyally believe the Holy Ghost to be the author of the book. He wrote it who dictated what was to be written; He wrote it who in its execution predominated as its inspirer."³

It follows that those who maintain that an error is possible in any genuine passage of the sacred writings either pervert the Catholic notion of inspiration or make God the author of such error. And so emphatically were all the Fathers and doctors agreed that the divine writings, as left by the hagiographers, are free from all error, that they laboured earnestly, with no less skill than reverence, to reconcile with each other those numerous passages which seem at variance—the very passages which in great measure have been exploited by the "higher criticism"; for they were unanimous in laying it down that those writings in their entirety and in all their parts were equally from the *afflatus*

¹ Sess. iii., c. ii., *de Rev.*

² *De Consensu Evangel.*, i. 35.

³ *Præf. in Job*, n. 2.

of Almighty God, and that God, speaking by the sacred writers, could not set down anything but what was true. The words of St. Augustine to St. Jerome may sum up what they taught: "For my own part I confess to your charity that it is only to those books of Scripture which are now called canonical that I have learned to pay such honour and reverence as to believe most firmly that none of their writers has fallen into any error. And if in these books I meet anything which seems contrary to truth, I shall not hesitate to conclude either that the text is faulty, or that the translator has not expressed the meaning of the passage, or that I myself do not understand it."¹

But to undertake the defence of the Bible fully and perfectly, and with the best scientific weapons, is far more than can be looked for from the exertions of commentators and theologians alone. This is a task in which we have a right to expect the co-operation of all Catholics of acknowledged reputation in any branch of learning whatever. As in the past, so at the present time, the Church is never without the graceful support of her accomplished children; may their services to the faith grow and increase! For nothing is more needful than that truth should find defenders more powerful and more numerous than the enemies it has to face; nor is there anything better calculated to impress the masses with respect for truth than to see it boldly proclaimed by learned and distinguished men. Moreover, the bitter tongues of objectors will be silenced, or at least they will not dare so shamelessly to insist that faith is the enemy of science, when they see that scientific men of eminence in their profession show marked honour and respect to their faith. Seeing, then, that those can do much for the advantage of religion on whom the goodness of Almighty God has bestowed, together with the grace of the faith, great natural talent, let such men, in this bitter conflict of which the Holy Scriptures are the object, select each of them the branch of study most suitable to his circumstances, and endeavour to excel therein, so that he may be prepared to combat with credit and distinction the assaults on the Word of God. Here it is our pleasing duty to give deserved praise to a work

¹ *Ep.* lxxxii. 1, and often elsewhere.

which certain Catholics have taken up, namely the formation of societies and the contribution of considerable sums of money, for the purpose of supplying studious and learned men with every kind of help and assistance in carrying out their studies. Truly an excellent way of investing money, one well suited to the times in which we live! The less hope there is of public patronage for Catholic study, the more ready and the more abundant should be the liberality of private persons—those to whom God has given riches willingly making use of them to safeguard the treasure of His revealed doctrine.

VIII. Summary.

In order that these exertions of ours may really prove advantageous to the cause of the Bible, let scholars keep steadfastly to the principles which we have laid down in this letter. Let them loyally hold that God, the creator and ruler of all things, is also the author of the Scriptures, and that therefore nothing can be proved either by physical science or archæology really contradictory to the Scriptures. If, then, apparent contradictions be met with every effort should be made to remove them. Prudent theologians and commentators should be consulted as to what is the true or most probable meaning of the passage in discussion, and the adverse arguments should be carefully weighed. Even if the difficulty is not finally cleared up and the discrepancy seems to remain, the contest must not be abandoned; truth cannot contradict truth, and we may be sure that some mistake has been made either in the interpretation of the sacred words, or in the polemical discussion itself; and if no such mistake can be detected, we must then suspend judgement for the time being. Objections without number have been urged against the Bible for many a long year; yet they have proved futile and are now never heard of; not infrequently, too, interpretations have been placed on certain passages of Scripture (not belonging to the rule of faith or morals), and they have had to be rectified in the light of more careful investigations. As times goes on mistaken views die and disappear; but “truth

remaineth and groweth stronger for ever and ever.”¹ No one should be so presumptuous as to think that he understands the whole of Scripture in which St. Augustine himself confessed that there was more that he did not know than that he did know.² If, then, the student should come upon anything that seems incapable of solution, he should bear in mind the caution laid down by the same holy doctor: “It is even better to be made uneasy by unknown but useful signs than to interpret them uselessly, and thus while throwing off the yoke, be caught in the snare of error.”³

If those who take up the subsidiary studies of which we have spoken, honestly and modestly follow the above counsels—if by their pen and their voice they attack the enemies of the truth, and so do useful work in saving beginners from losing their faith—they may justly congratulate themselves on having done yeoman service to the Bible, and afforded to Catholicism that assistance which the Church has a right to expect from the piety and learning of her children.

Such, venerable brethren, are the admonitions and instructions which, by the help of God, we have thought well to offer you now on the study of Holy Scripture. It will be your province, then, to see that what we have said be observed and put in practice with all due reverence and exactness. We shall thus prove our gratitude to God for communicating to man the words of His wisdom, and may hope that the good results desired may be realized, especially as regards the training of Church students, wherein lies our own great solicitude and the Church’s hope. Devote yourselves to this with real alacrity; use your authority and your powers of persuasion to secure that these studies be held in high esteem, and may thus be promoted in seminaries and in educational institutions which are under your jurisdiction. May they flourish abundantly and be crowned with success, under the direction of the Church, in accordance with the salutary teaching and example of the Fathers and the laudable traditions of antiquity; and as time goes on, may such studies be developed and extended as the interests

¹ 3 Esdras iv. 38.

² *Ad Januar.*, Ep. lv. 21.

³ *De Doctr. chr.*, III. ix. 18.

and glory of truth may require—the interests of that Catholic truth which comes from above and is the never-failing source of man's salvation. Finally, we paternally admonish students and ministers of the Church to approach the Bible with reverence and piety; for it is impossible to attain to the profitable understanding thereof unless we lay aside the arrogance of "earthly" science and stir up in our hearts a holy desire for that wisdom "which is from above." When once the mind has been thus initiated into these sacred studies, and thereby illuminated and strengthened, a marvellous facility in detecting and avoiding the fallacies of human science, and in gathering and using for eternal salvation all that is valuable and precious will be acquired; the heart, too, will be set on fire and will ardently strive to advance in virtue and in divine love. "Blessed are they who examine His testimonies; they shall seek Him with their whole heart."¹

And now, filled with hope in the divine assistance, and trusting to your pastoral solicitude—as a pledge of heavenly grace and a sign of our special goodwill—to you all, to the clergy and the whole flock entrusted to you, we lovingly impart in our Lord the Apostolic benediction.

Given at St. Peter's, Rome, the 18th day of November, 1893, the eighteenth year of our Pontificate.

POPE LEO XIII.

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¹ Ps. cxviii. 2.

CHAPTER II

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE BIBLE

The Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* insisted, as will have been noticed, on two main points, the interpretation of the Bible and its divine inspiration, and with these the present chapter will deal.

I. PRINCIPLES OF INTERPRETATION.

- A. Modern Biblical Criticism.
- B. The Principles of Biblical Interpretation.
- C. The Genesis of Biblical Criticism in the Church.
 - i. The Alexandrian School.
 - ii. The Antiochian School.
 - iii. The Latin School.

A. Modern Biblical Criticism.

AN immense amount of the literary Biblical criticism of to-day is based simply on conjecture, on possibilities. For example, that such documents as the so-called Elohist and Jahvistic elements of the Pentateuch ever existed is only a possibility; that the so-called Q document, which is supposed to underlie so much of the Gospel narrative, ever existed is a possibility. Before we could say that such documents even probably existed, we should need an immense amount of corroborative evidence. Yet how many critics realize this elementary principle? To read their works one would imagine that the actual existence of these documents had been demonstrated to the hilt. As a matter of fact all their work is based on an unproven

hypothesis. Now no one could object to this if it were merely a question of a literary problem like the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy for example. Whichever side should win in that controversy no real harm would have been done, for the plays would still remain to us intact after all the dissections practised upon their authors. But can the same be said of Biblical literary criticism? When we have proved that Moses had little or nothing to do with the Pentateuch; that few, if any, of the Psalms emanated from David; that Matthew the "Evangelist" is a shadow; that John the son of Zebedee had nothing to do—save, perhaps, remotely—with the production of the Fourth Gospel, etc., do the writings which have hitherto gone under these names still hold the same place in our estimation? Critics answer that they remain intact, that authorship is a subsidiary question. But is this quite true? After all, authorship and date are inextricably intermingled. If the Pentateuchal legislation does not emanate from Moses the legislator, what value has it? If the Fourth Gospel is not from the pen of an Apostle, at least as directly as was Luke's Gospel, what authority has it? If the Pentateuch is really an extraordinarily composite production, dating in its present form from a period a thousand years later than we have thought, if much of it is really due to priestly self-aggrandisement, then what authority can we possibly attach to it?

The question which all destructive critics have to put to themselves is whether the ordinary man appreciates and loves his Bible better for the dissection to which they have subjected it. No one dare answer this question in the affirmative.¹

¹ Critics maintain, however, that their views make the Bible more intelligible and remove many stumbling-blocks; see, for example, Simpson, *Pentateuchal Criticism*, 2nd ed., 1924, p. 82, etc. How far some critics go in this respect may be gauged by the following from Professor Gardiner in his paper on *The Geography of the Exodus* in the *Études Champollion*, p. 205: "All the story of the Exodus ought to be regarded as no less mythical than the details of creation as recorded in Genesis. At all events, our first task must be to attempt to interpret these details on the supposition that they are a legend. Instead, therefore, of comparing each place-name as it occurs with some supposed corresponding site in Egypt or the desert, I shall survey the legend as a whole, and attempt to discover the general movement under-

It might of course be retorted, and at first sight with justice, that Catholics are just as conspicuous in the realm of criticism as are non-Catholics. It is true. Catholic critics have done magnificent work in this department, notably the great Dominican school at Jerusalem. But between Catholic critics like these and the ordinary non-Catholic critic "a great gulf is fixed." For the Catholic, regarding his Bible as a fact in the world's history, argues that, whereas in the Old Testament the governing thought is of a Redeemer to come, in the New Testament we are shown One who claims to be that Redeemer, and also to be the Eternal Son of God made man for us. He further sees that that same God-Man founded a Church to which He gave authority to teach infallibly all that concerned the way of salvation. Still further, that same divinely established Church, which is to continue to the end of time, tells him on her infallible authority that that same Bible which had led the enquirer to her is divinely inspired, that it is the very Word of God and therefore of supreme authority. She tells him that the Bible's claim to contain God's revelation to men is irrefragable, that it—with the Revelation it contains—is entrusted to her safe-keeping at the same time that it is her charter. It is meant to be studied, and from every conceivable point of view. There is but one condition attaching to such studies: they must never lose sight of the fact that the Biblical writers are inspired, and consequently that conclusions which run counter to that fundamental principle must by that very fact be false.

Now one of the principles, in effect, of modern literary

lying it" (quoted by Naville in *J.E.A.*, April, 1924, p. 18). In the July issue of the same *Journal* Professor Gardiner vehemently repudiated Naville's quotation; he had not said "all the story of the Exodus"; what he did say was that "not a vestige of evidence points to any serious occupation of Egyptian territory such as could have resulted in a drama resembling that enacted in the Book of Exodus. Until there emerges evidence of a character wholly different from that already available, I submit that the details of the story ought to be regarded as no less mythical than the details of the creation as recorded in Genesis. At all events, our first task must be to attempt to interpret those details on the supposition that they are legend." We leave it to readers to decide whether he has amended matters. See a trenchant article by Flinders Petrie on *History and Criticism*, *Expos. Times*, September, 1925.

criticism of the Bible is that inspiration does not enter into the case. It would be literature even if not inspired. But surely the whole point is that it would not exist at all unless inspired! Yet most critics not only eliminate the question of inspiration from all practical discussion; they neglect the very fact of inspiration, and they have no positive ideas as to its precise nature, whereas inspiration is not only a factor in these books; it is *the* factor. What should we think of a student of such works of dual authorship as Besant and Rice's novels if he eliminated all consideration of the share of one of them in his study of the composite work? Yet inspiration at least means divine authorship. A mere collection of facts is not science nor scholarship; no man is a psychologist because he has a tabulated account of what everybody has said on psychology. He has neglected one obvious fact, the study of his own psyche or self. Similarly, no man can pretend to be a Biblical critic without a profound knowledge of the whole Bible and of every factor in its production.¹

Another disturbing feature in modern Biblical study is the neglect of—if not the contempt for—work done by Catholics. Splendid work has been done by Catholics, yet how rarely do we see any appreciation of it! Presumably this is because Catholics are thought to be fettered in their work by the doctrines of the Church. We have even heard it maintained that they are dishonest in the conservative views they hold, and that if they really spoke out their minds they would prove as radical in their criticism as any others. We call this a disturbing feature because it seems to us so ominous. For in the ultimate analysis we think it would appear that a Catholic critic is disregarded because he has certain guiding principles which he will not surrender. Whereas the ordinary critic wants to be absolutely free to say what he likes about—what? The Word of God given to us for our salvation! Can we wonder that Biblical criticism has become a veritable labyrinth along which men wander and in which they lose themselves completely?

Another feature of modern criticism is, in a sense, even more distressing. Exponents of the most radical views

¹ See especially St. Augustine, *De Gen. ad litt.*, Opus Imperf. i., P.L. XXXIV. 221.

seem obsessed with the notion that they are bound to bring their teachings within the reach of everybody, even the youngest. The *Cambridge Bible for Schools* is a case in point. Of old this series provided a very readable and reliable commentary. Now the various volumes are being re-written according to so-called modern requirements. Are critics so assured of their methods and principles that it has become obligatory on them to impart their findings to our schoolboys? Presumably this is all done in the interests of truth. Precisely, but is it the truth? What is a modern schoolboy to make of the following six paragraphs penned by Foakes-Jackson?

1. The Old Testament is a collection of documents of different periods put together in their present form at a comparatively late date—say, between 500 and 160 B.C.

2. What we call the law of Moses contains the chief ritual, dietary, and ceremonial laws, together with the arrangements for the worship of Jehovah from the latest collection of laws.

3. There is a primitive history, if not histories, of Israel, and a later one coloured by the presupposition that the priestly law was in force from an early time.

4. The most valuable contemporary evidence we have is to be found in the utterances of the prophets.

5. We are not on anything approaching solid ground till we reach the ninth century B.C., when Israel is brought into contact with Assyria; and before (say) David we have to rely mainly on tradition for information about Israel.

6. The religion of Israel before the appearance of the literary prophets approximated more to that of the kindred nations than was generally supposed.¹

The Catholic position is perfectly expressed by St. Thomas when he says:

"Argument based on authority is fundamental in theology, for the simple reason that theology derives its principles from revelation, and consequently we have to accept the authority of those men to whom that revelation was made. This in no sense derogates from the dignity of theology. For while it is true that an argument from authority based on human reason is the weakest possible, yet an argument from authority based on divine revelation is the most compelling of all. At the same time, theology makes use of human reason—not, of course,

¹ These words are taken from a paper read at a conference held at Cambridge in April, 1912, when the subject for discussion was *Scripture Teaching in Secondary Schools*. The particular paper in question was entitled "Is the Old Testament worth presenting to the Young?"

for proving the truths of faith, since that would deprive faith of all merit, but in order to set in a clear light other points which are dealt with in theology. For since grace does not take away nature, but perfects it, natural reason must be subservient to faith, just as the natural inclination of the will obeys the dictates of charity. Hence it is that the Apostle says, *Bringeth into captivity every understanding unto the obedience of Christ*.¹ Consequently theology makes use of the authority of the philosophers whensoever they have, by the use of their natural reason, been able to learn the truth; thus St. Paul quotes Aratus when he says, *As some one also of your own poets said*, 'For we are also God's offspring.'² At the same time theology only uses such authorities as affording extraneous and probable arguments, whereas it uses the authority of the canonical Scriptures as its own proper material, and as providing compelling arguments; but it uses the authority of the doctors of the Church as its own proper material indeed, yet as affording only probable arguments. For our faith rests on the revelation made to the prophets and Apostles who wrote the canonical books; it is not based on any revelation that may have been made to any one of the Church's doctors."³

B. The Principles of Biblical Interpretation.

The *divine* character of the Bible has always been a fundamental principle with the Fathers of the Church. Thus St. Augustine beautifully describes the Bible as God's letter to us men:

"We could believe Him merely on His word. But He did not wish us merely to believe His word. He wished His writing to be held to. Much as though you were to say to a man when you promised him something: 'Do not accept my word for it; I will give it you in writing.' For since generations come and go, and the centuries slip by while we mortals give place to and succeed one another—God's writing had to remain; it was to be His handwriting which all who passed by might read and so hold to the way of His promises."⁴

¹ 2 Cor. x. 5.

² Acts xvii. 28.

³ *Summa Theol.*, I. i. 8 ad 2dm.; cf. *Contra Gentes*, I. viii. and note the following: "Faith adheres to all the articles of faith because of one argument (*medium*), viz. the first truth set before us in Scripture in accordance with the teaching of the Church which understands it truly" (*Summa Theol.*, 2da. 2dae., V. 3 ad 2dm.). See the same doctrine emphatically stated by St. Leo, Mansi, *Concilia*, VI. 113; see, too, *R.B.*, 1900, p. 135. For the necessity of such tradition, whether written or not, see Tertullian, *De Corona*, iii., and St. Chrysostom, *Hom.* iv. 2 on 2 Thess. ii. 14, and *Hom.* iii. 1 on 2 Tim. i. 13, *P.G.* LXII. 488 and 613.

⁴ *Enar.* in Ps. cxliv.

Similarly he terms the sacred Scriptures “the venerable pen of Thy Spirit.”¹ And since the Bible is thus divine there can be *no error* in it. Thus he writes to St. Jerome :

“Only to those books of Scripture which are called ‘canonical’ have I learnt to pay such reverence and honour as firmly to believe that no one author of those books has erred in aught that he wrote. Hence, if in any one of those books I stumble upon something which seems opposed to the truth, I have no hesitation in saying that either my copy is faulty, or that the translator has not fully grasped what was said, or that I myself have not understood.”²

But though divine, these same Scriptures are only for a time :

“When the Lord Jesus Christ shall come, then in the presence of the Day lamps will no longer be needed ; the prophets will not be read to us, we shall not open the book of the Apostles, we shall not seek the testimony of John, we shall not need the Gospel. Then all the Scriptures will be taken away ; in the night of this world they were lit for us to be like lamps lest we should remain in darkness. But when they are taken away what shall we see? . . . We shall see Him even as He is.”³

“But while these Scriptures are with us,” adds the saint, “we must needs study them deeply, for they are difficult.” This could hardly be better expressed than in St. Prosper’s hymn :

“In sacris quanquam libris, quos nosse laboras,
Plurima sunt, Lector, clausa et opaca tibi :
Invigilare tamen studio ne desine sancto,
Exercent animam dona morata tuam.
Gratior est fructus quem spes productior edit ;
Ultro obsectorum vilius est pretium.
Oblectant adaperta etiam mysteria mentem ;
Qui dedit, ut quæras ; addet, ut invenias.”

No one studied Holy Scripture more assiduously than did St. Augustine, yet no one complains more feelingly of its obscurity : “They who read it rashly,” he says, “are deceived by many and manifold obscurities . . . for so obscurely are some things set forth as to be wrapped in deepest darkness.”⁴ His whole treatise *De Doctrina Chris-*

¹ *Confess.* VII. xxi.

² *Ep.* lxxii. to St. Jerome ; *cp.* *Ep.* viii. 5, 7, 22 ; *ibid.* lxxvi. ; *Tract.* xcvi. 2-3 in *Joan.*, *de Sermonibus Domini in monte*, II. xxii. (74).

³ *Tractatus in Joan.* xxxv. 9

⁴ *Doct.* II. vi. 7.

tiana is devoted to showing how the student may best avoid the difficulties which the saint himself had encountered in his laborious Scriptural studies. These difficulties, he tells us, are due to several causes: first, the Scriptures are written in what are, for the most part, dead languages; hence he insists much on the need of cultivating a knowledge of these languages. "A knowledge of these tongues is necessary; for while we can count those who have translated the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, the Latin translators (of the Greek versions) are innumerable."¹ The remote date, too, at which these books were written is another source of obscurity; hence the divergence of their authors' ideas from ours; so, too, the allusions to customs of long ago naturally elude us. Thirdly, there must be added the complication arising from the different "senses" of Scripture; again and again Augustine returns to the difference between the spirit and the letter, between the literal and the metaphorical sense.² Thus he says:

"The ambiguity of the translated word calls for no small care and industry. For at the outset we must beware lest we take the figurative for the literal. This is what the Apostle means when he says: *The letter killeth, but the spirit quickeneth*. . . . And nothing can be more fittingly termed the death of the soul than when, by following the letter, that intellect by which we are distinguished from the beasts is subjected to the flesh."³

He instances as examples of such slavery, a merely material understanding of the words Sabbath and sacrifice.

Hence, again, St. Augustine is never weary of telling the student how he must approach to the study of the sacred word. First of all, he must ever bear in mind the divine authority which speaks: "For we walk by faith and not by sight; but faith totters if the authority of Holy Scripture is weakened; and when faith totters charity itself languishes."⁴ We must come, then, in a spirit of fear:

"They that fear God, and through love of Him are meek, seek in all these books the will of God. And the starting-point of all this toil and labour must be, as we have said, to know the books themselves and, even if you have not yet arrived at their understanding, to strive by

¹ *Ibid.* xi-xii.; *cp.* *De Civ. Dei*, XV. 14, XVIII. 43.

² *Cf.* *Confess.* XII. 18-32.

³ *Doct.* III. v.

⁴ *Doct.* II. 37.

assiduous reading either to commit them to memory, or at least not to be entirely ignorant of them. . . . And then, when at length you have gained a certain familiarity with the actual language of Holy Scripture, you can go on to examine and discuss those passages which are obscure, so that from the less obscure you may rise to the understanding of the more obscure, and thus the witness of certain clear phrases will remove all doubtfulness from those which are not so clear. In this study the memory is of great assistance—so much so that if it is lacking you cannot attend to my teaching.”¹

Humility, too, is necessary: “When you begin to examine the sacred Scripture cease not to reflect upon the Apostolic maxim: *Knowledge puffeth up, charity edifieth.*”² Besides humility we need its corollary, prayer:

“We must not only admonish those who study these venerable letters to know the modes of expression proper to Holy Scripture, and to note carefully and commit to memory the fashion in which things are there said, but also—and this is more especially necessary—let them pray to understand.”³

For St. Augustine the foregoing are but the preliminaries. To the student who has grasped them he proposes certain sound principles of investigation in the third book of the *De Doct. Christiana*. These rules the student should read for himself, as indeed the whole of this treatise. As a summary of his teaching on the elementary rules of criticism note the following:

“When we read the divine books and find so many diverse but true interpretations deduced from but a few words and supported by sound Catholic faith, we should choose that interpretation which the sacred author whom we are reading appears to have held; but supposing we cannot determine what he really thought, we must choose that interpretation which does not run contrary to the context and which agrees with sound faith; and if, lastly, we cannot arrive at any clear understanding of the context, then we can but follow the interpretation which sound faith demands. For it is one thing not to know what a writer really meant, quite another to fall away from the rule of piety.”⁴

These last words of the saint bring us to the question of interpretation, and therefore to the Church.

As we have already pointed out, the Bible is essentially an obscure and a difficult book. This is no new idea. St. Peter said it long ago when he complained that in the

¹ *Doct.* II. ix. 14.

³ *Doct.* III. xxxvii. 56.

² *Ibid.* II. xli. 62.

⁴ *De Genesi ad litt.*, I. xxi. (41).

epistles of "our most dear brother Paul . . . are certain things hard to be understood, which the unlearned and the unstable wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, to their own destruction."¹ If the Apostles needed our Lord's special instruction to enable them to "understand the Scriptures,"² we must need the same assistance. Indeed it is a mystery how anyone can ever have convinced himself that the Bible was an open book or one which could be safely put into the hands of all; for all heresies are the outcome of misunderstanding of Biblical texts.³ It is important to understand this clearly, for in these days of Bible propagation we are sometimes apt to think the Church hard in her treatment, for instance, of the Bible Society. But the truth is that the Church condemns this society, not for spreading the Bible broadcast—though that is certainly not to be commended—but because the fundamental principle of that society is the all-sufficiency of Scripture which therefore needs no interpreter, so that each man is at liberty to deduce from it what doctrine he pleases. St. Irenæus voices the tradition of the Church when he says:

"Where, therefore, the gifts of the Lord have been placed, there it behoves us to learn the truth, namely from those who possess that succession of the Church which is from the Apostles, and among whom exists that which is sound and blameless in conduct as well as that which is unadulterated and incorrupt in speech. For these also preserve this faith of ours in one God who created all things; and they increase that love which we have for the Son of God who accomplished such marvellous dispensations for our sakes; *they expound the Scriptures to us without danger*, neither blaspheming God nor dishonouring the patriarchs nor despising the prophets."⁴

Origen is often spoken of as though he were in some vague way opposed to the teachings of the Church. But while not denying that he held wrong views on many points of doctrine—though not in opposition to the Church which had not at that time defined the true doctrine to be held on the points in question—it is well to note his express teaching in the *Preface* to that work of his, the *De Principiis*, which afterwards brought him into such obloquy:

¹ 2 Pet. iii. 15-16.

² Luke xxiv. 43; cf. Acts viii. 30-31.

³ Cf. St. Augustine, *Tract.* XVIII. 1 in *Joan.*

⁴ *Adv. Hæc.* IV. 26.

"As the teaching of the Church, transmitted in orderly succession from the Apostles, and remaining in the Church to the present day, is still preserved, that alone is to be accepted as truth which differs in nothing from ecclesiastical and Apostolical tradition. . . . The particular points clearly delivered in the teaching of the Apostles are as follows."

He proceeds to enumerate various points of doctrine, adding, "and finally, that the Scriptures were written by the Spirit of God."¹ That certain Scriptures are inspired could be gathered from certain books, but none of them tell us which are the inspired books. It needs the living voice of the Church to declare this. As Melchior Canus expresses it: "*Scriptura Judex est mortuus, qui nec litigantium utrinque rationes audire, nec sententiam ipse eloqui valet.*"²

This traditional doctrine is summed up in the words of the Council of Trent as follows:

"Further, it is decreed that no one should, relying on his own skill and distorting the Holy Scriptures to his own purposes, interpret the Holy Scriptures in matters of faith and morals—which are concerned with the upholding of Christian doctrine—in any sense other than that which Holy Mother Church has held and continues to hold; for it is for her to judge of the true sense and interpretation of Holy Scripture. Nor should he interpret them contrary to the unanimous consent of the Fathers."³

This decree was renewed in express terms by the Vatican Council.⁴

¹ This is no chance statement of his; it represents his whole mind on the subject. Some of the passages here indicated are, it is true, only known to us through the medium of Rufinus' translation, and we cannot always be sure that he fairly presents Origen's teaching; but for many passages we have the Greek text still preserved for us, and are thus able to check Rufinus. All the following places can, with the exception of the last, be read in the English translation given in the *Ante-Nicene Fathers* (T. and T. Clark): *De Principiis*, the Prologue, 2, 5, 6, 8, 10; I. v. 6; II. vii. 3; the Prologue to Book III.; III. i., vi.; IV. i. 9, 26; *Contra Celsum*, the Prologue; also III. 60; and *Book III. on Rom.* iii. 9, P.G. XIV. 929.

² *De Locis*, II. vii.

³ Session IV.

⁴ Session III., cap. ii.

Interpretation of the Bible.

But while the Church reserves to herself the right officially to interpret the Bible, she in no sense forbids her doctors and learned men to comment on and interpret Holy Scripture—subject, of course, to certain necessary reservations. As this point is fully brought out in the Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* given above¹ it will suffice to indicate a few of the—

Rules which every Catholic exegete must observe :

(a) If the Church has *definitely defined* the sense attaching to any particular passage a Catholic commentator must adhere to such interpretation. Such authoritative interpretations, be it noted, are rare ; we may instance Jas. v. 14-15, Luke xxii. 19.

(b) The Catholic interpreter is not only bound by these solemn and conciliar declarations, but also by those less solemn indications of the Church's mind which occur in Papal Encyclicals ; for even if not infallible, these yet emanate from the teaching office of the Church.

(c) He is bound also to argue in accordance with the *analogy of Catholic faith* ; a Catholic cannot, for instance, give such an interpretation to the expression " the brethren of the Lord " as would run counter to the doctrine of the perpetual virginity of the Blessed Virgin.

(d) Neither can he give his assent to interpretations which are not in accord with the *unanimous teaching of the Fathers*,² for if he did so he would not be judging *with* the Catholic Church, in accordance with St. Augustine's dictum, *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*.³

Every Catholic interpreter has to bear in mind the words addressed by Pope Pius IX. to the Archbishop of Munich in 1863, when certain theological schools were setting forth views hardly reconcilable with Catholic teaching :

" We should like to feel sure that they have not meant to limit the obligation—which absolutely binds all Catholic teachers and writers—to those things merely which, by the Church's infallible judgement, are set before us all to believe as dogmas of the faith. . . . Even were it

¹ *Supra*, pp. xxiv ff.

² *Supra*, pp. xviii, xxv, xxvii.

³ *Adv. Parmenianum*, III. 24.

question of that submission which we have actually to make to divine faith, yet that submission cannot be limited to things which are defined by express decrees of Œcumenical Councils or of the Pontiffs of the Roman See; it has to be extended to those things which are handed down by the ordinary teaching office of the whole Church dispersed throughout the world as being divinely revealed, and which Catholic theologians—in universal and constant agreement—regard as forming part of the faith.

“But since it is question of that submission which is binding in conscience on all Catholics who devote themselves to speculative studies with a view to rendering fresh services to the Church by their writings, men of these colleges ought to recognize that for a wise Catholic it is not enough to receive with veneration the aforesaid dogmas of the Church, but that it is incumbent on them to bow to decisions touching doctrine which emanate from the Pontifical Congregations, as also to points of doctrine which, by the general and constant consent of Catholics, are regarded as theological truths and as conclusions of such certainty that, though opinions conflicting with such points of doctrine may not be termed ‘heretical,’ they yet fall under other theological censures.”¹

The following practical rules are too often neglected :

(a) In arriving at an ultimate decision upon any interpretation we can never abstract from the *inspiration* of the passage in question. For the ultimate decision of any discussion must necessarily take into account *all* the factors, and inspiration is one of these.

(b) We must not treat these ancient books as we treat a modern work; we must bear in mind the *genius of the Hebrews*. Their methods of writing history, or even poetry, were not those of the twentieth century. There were no such things as copyright or plagiarism in those days.

(c) History is of a different character according as the author intended to write a strictly historical book or merely a book containing historical details which were the framework of his treatise, for example the *Book of Job*.

(d) The *context* has to be studied, and not merely the immediate context, but the whole literary context of the book in question.² This is especially true of the Gospels, which differ, not so much in the actual facts they present as in the mode of their presentation.

Nothing can be more instructive than the way in which

¹ See Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, 11th ed., 1911, Nos. 1679-1684; D.R., July, 1871, July, 1878.

² See Tertullian, *Adv. Marcionem*, III. xii.

St. Thomas faces these complicated questions of exegesis. When, for instance, he is treating of the creation he distinguishes two things: the substance of what belongs to faith, namely "that the world began to be created," and the mode and order of this creation. This latter, he says, only belongs accidentally to faith, inasmuch, that is, as it is told in Holy Scripture. Of the story of creation the Fathers, for example St. Augustine, have given various interpretations. In four different places and at four different times Augustine examined the first three chapters of Genesis, and was never satisfied with any of his explanations.¹ St. Thomas points out that some of the Fathers maintain that the various phases of the creation indicate different periods of time, but that St. Augustine thinks that "Moses, since he had to instruct an uneducated people in the story of the world's creation, divided up events which really took place all together."² St. Thomas allows that the former opinion is the more common, but he says that that of St. Augustine "is more reasonable and less liable to expose Holy Scripture to the contempt of unbelievers."³ Here we have very broad principles of exegesis; yet they are established on a solid basis, and no one can condemn them as rash.⁴

Again, on the story of the creation :

"On this point there is, as St. Augustine remarks,⁵ a twofold discussion : First, on the actual truth of what is told us ; secondly, on the precise meaning of the account which Moses, who was divinely inspired, has left us of the origin of the world. As regards the first question, two things must be avoided : First, we must not make false assertions on this point, least of all assertions which run counter to truths of faith ; secondly, whatever we may hold to be the true view in the matter we must not forthwith assert that it forms part of the truths of faith, for, as Augustine again remarks: 'It does harm if a man fancies that some false view that he holds forms part of the teachings of faith, and if he obstinately persists in affirming what he does not really know.'⁶ Augustine says that this 'does harm' because

¹ He wrote *De Genesi contra Manichæos* about A.D. 389; *De Genesi ad litteram, opus imperfectum*, in A.D. 393; *Confess.* XI-XIII., where he treats of *Genesis* from the allegorical standpoint, about A.D. 400; and finally his great work, *De Genesi ad litteram*, occupied him from A.D. 401-415.

² *Summa Theol.*, I. lxvi. 1 ad 1m., ad 2m. sed contra; cp. *ibid.* lxvii. 4, lxviii. 3, lxx. 1 ad 3m.

³ *De Potentia*, IV. ii.

⁴ Cf. *P.L.* vol. ii., *Introduction to Genesis*.

⁵ *Confess.* XII.

⁶ *Ibid.* X.

it leads unbelievers to look with contempt on the faith when they hear some simple and credulous soul maintaining that something forms part of that faith when all the time they know, on quite solid grounds, that what he says is false.¹

"Similarly, with regard to the second point in discussion, two things are to be avoided : The first is that no one must insist that some patently erroneous view is clearly to be gathered from the words of the Bible when it teaches us about the creation of things. For divine Scripture, given us by the Holy Spirit, can no more contain anything false than can the faith which it teaches. And secondly, no one must try so to tie down Holy Scripture to some single meaning that other meanings which do contain truth, and which can, having due regard to the context, be read into Scripture, should be wholly excluded."²

C. The Genesis of Biblical Criticism in the Church.

The genesis of present-day Biblical criticism in the Church will be best understood if we take a brief survey of the schools of interpretation in the early ages of the Church. It is usual to speak of these schools of thought as two in number—the Alexandrian and the Antiochian. But we prefer to regard them as three, since it is possible to detect from very early times a method of using the Bible which avoids the extremes of those two schools. It is difficult to assign a satisfactory name to this school. From the fact that it includes such names as Tertullian, St. Cyprian, and St. Augustine, the title "African" would not be a misnomer. But, then, where should we place St. Hilary and St. Jerome? Consequently we prefer to call it the Latin school, since all the writers comprised in it were Latins. At the same time it seems impossible to assign St. Ambrose a place in it since his affinities with Philo and Origen are so marked ; his, then, is the sole Latin name finding a place in the Alexandrian school of interpretation.

THE ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL.

Pantænus.
Clement of Alexandria.
Origen.
Hippolytus.
Denis of Alexandria.
Pamphilus.
Eusebius of Cæsarea.

St. Athanasius.
St. Basil.
St. Gregory Nazianzen.
St. Gregory of Nyssa.
Didymus the Blind.
St. Ambrose.
St. Cyril of Alexandria.

¹ *De Gen. ad litt.*, I.

² *De Potentia*, IV. i. ; *cf. Summa Theol.*, Ia. i, 10.

THE ANTIOCHIAN SCHOOL.

Lucian.
St. Ephraem.
Diodorus of Tarsus.
St. Epiphanius.
St. Chrysostom.
Theodore of Mopsuestia.
St. Isidore of Pelusium.
Adrian.
Theodoret of Cyra.

THE LATIN SCHOOL.

Tertullian.
St. Cyprian.
St. Hilary.
St. Jerome.
St. Augustine, and later Fathers.

i. The Alexandrian School.—It is usual, as we have said, to distinguish two distinct schools of Biblical exegesis in the early Church, the Alexandrian and the Antiochian. As a matter of fact, it is hard to draw any hard-and-fast line. St. Irenæus, the disciple of St. Polycarp and consequently of St. John, may well be termed “the father of theology,” but he has hardly left us principles of exegesis; it is the same with Tertullian who was rather the polemical writer than the Biblical exegete. But with the foundation of the famous catechetical school at Alexandria by PANTÆNUS, near the close of the second century,¹ there sprang into being a very definite school of Biblical interpretation which was to exert great influence on subsequent ages. To understand the spirit that dominated this school we must realize its environment. Alexandria at that time was the centre of Greek culture and philosophy; it was the home of the Neo-Platonists; the spirit that laughed at St. Paul’s teaching at Athens had rooted itself there. Pantænus, its founder, was a Sicilian by birth;² CLEMENT, who succeeded him about A.D. 189 as head of the school, was probably an Athenian. He was, too, a man of singularly wide reading in philosophy and the classics. Feeling, as he did, that Christianity had to be made acceptable to the world of Greek thought in which he lived, he endeavoured to present the teachings of the Bible in a form which would appeal to the Greek mind. His principal works³ that have come down to us are the *Ad Nationes*, the *Pædagogus*, the *Stromateis*, and a little treatise, *Quis Dives salvetur?* All through the *Stromateis*—far the most important of his works—his appeal is to

¹ H.E. V. x. 1-4; *Vir. Illustr.* XXXVI.; St. Jerome, *Ep.* lxx. 4.

² Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* I. i., may indicate this.

³ For a list of his writings see H.E. VI. xiii 1-9.

philosophy as the "handmaiden of theology."¹ But this "philosophy" is not simply that of the ancient Greeks; it is the true "gnosis"² or knowledge derived from "divinely inspired Scripture."³ All that is really good in Plato and the rest of the philosophers was "stolen" from Moses.⁴ Clement then takes his readers through the Bible, and shows them the sweet reasonableness of its teachings. He does not explain away Biblical teachings; they are "mystical"⁵ and they are necessarily "veiled."⁶ A man who would rightly appreciate the Scriptures must literally steep himself in them by the most assiduous reading;⁷ he will thus attain to that "gnostic faith"⁸ which is the only true knowledge. Many things in Scripture may—if taken literally—be unintelligible to Greek minds, for example the Tree of Life,⁹ the anthropological expressions,¹⁰ even the miracles. But these are all symbolic, and unless so understood are practically meaningless. For Clement the whole of Scripture is inspired;¹¹ it is the Word of God given by "inspired" prophets and Apostles.¹² He is deeply imbued with the teachings of Philo¹³ who had allegorized the Old Testament so as to make it acceptable to the Alexandrian Jews of his time. It is, perhaps, only natural that Clement should quote largely from the two Alexandrian books, *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus*; but he also quotes freely from the *Shepherd* of Hermas,¹⁴ from the *Preaching of Peter*,¹⁵ and from the *Epistle of Barnabas*;¹⁶ also from 4 *Esdras*.¹⁷

From the exegetical point of view the loss of Clement's *Hypotyposes*, to which Eusebius so frequently refers,¹⁸ is most regrettable. This work seems to have contained abridged

¹ *Strom.* I. 5, 16.

² *Ibid.* II. 15, 16 et passim.

³ *Ad Nationes*, I. 9; *Strom.* I. 17, 21 et passim.

⁴ This is a commonplace with Clement. See *Strom.* I. 14, 17, 21, 25; II. 5; V. 1, 11, 14; VI. 3, etc.; cf. St. Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, xviii. 27, P.L. XLI. 587.

⁵ *Ibid.* V. 6, 11.

⁶ This doctrine he expands at length, *Strom.* VI. 15.

⁷ *Ibid.* VII. 16.

⁸ *Ibid.* VI. 15.

⁹ *Ibid.* V. 11.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* II. 16.

¹¹ *Ad Nationes*, I. 9; *Strom.* I. 17, 21 et passim.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ E.g. *Strom.* II. 18, 19.

¹⁴ E.g. *Strom.* VI. 5, 6.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ E.g. II. 6, 7, etc.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* III. 16.

¹⁸ *H.E.* II. 3-4, ix. 2-4, xxiii., on the martyrdom of James; VI. xiv. on the writings of Clement; Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cix., P.G. XCIII. 383.

accounts of the books of the Bible, and is of peculiar interest to us from its witness to the books regarded by Clement as canonical. We have dealt at some length with Clement because he is undoubtedly the originator of the allegorical and mystical explanation of Scripture which so long held sway. It must be borne in mind, however, that Clement used this method simply in the interest of the souls of men; like Pantænus before him, he was primarily the apostolic teacher.¹

Clement's greatest disciple was Origen, the "Adamantine,"² the colossus amongst the Fathers. It is doubtless an exaggeration to say that Origen wrote a triple series of *Scholia*, *Homilies*, and *Commentaries* on every book of the Bible,³ yet it is not far from the truth. Of the mighty mass of material he left behind him⁴ only a pitiful fragment remains, and most of it in the form of translations. For it became the fashion to translate his works. St. Hilary of Poitiers, St. Jerome, Rufinus, and friends of Cassiodorus all did so; while in the *Philocalia*,⁵ drawn up by his devoted adherents St. Basil and St. Gregory Nazianzen, we have a *delectus* from his writings. The great works remaining to us in Greek are his commentaries on *St. Matthew*, *St. John*, and on the *Epistle to the Romans*, as also his ill-starred treatise *De Principiis*. Now in these writings, as well as in his *Homilies*, Origen lays down a triple sense of Holy Scripture: the somatic, the psychic, and the pneumatic; these are the literal, the more spiritual, and the really spiritual senses of Scripture.⁶ Not every passage contains a literal meaning;⁷ indeed, in the literal sense there are often "stumbling-blocks"⁸ purposely designed by God to compel us to dig beneath the surface for the true meaning. There are even recorded in Scripture things which never

¹ St. Jerome, *Ep.* LXX. 4.

² St. Jerome, *Ep.* xxxiii. 3-4; Socrates, *H.E.* iii. 7; Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 118; *P.G.* XCIII. 398.

³ *Quæst. Heb. in Genesim*, *Prol.*; *Adv. Ruf.* ii.; *Pref.* to transl. of Origen's *Homilies on Daniel*, *P.L.* XXV. 586.

⁴ *Ep.* xxxiii. 3, for a catalogue of Origen's works.

⁵ Ed. by Robinson, Cambridge, 1891.

⁶ *De Principiis*, IV. 11-13; *Contra Celsum*, ii. 63, 69, and iv. 21, 38-51.

⁷ *Ibid.* 12.

⁸ *Ibid.* 15.

took place at all,¹ things which are not true, not even possible. As an example of this he takes the story of the planting of the Garden of Eden,² and concludes that "the history took place in appearance and not literally." Now all this is set forth by Origen with an extraordinary naiveté. He seems to take it all for granted; hardly does it need proof. Yet even in his own practice there were really only two senses of Scripture to be discovered: the literal and the spiritual, or "pneumatic,"³ and of these the former counted for little. Even the Mosaic law must be understood "spiritually," "otherwise people would have been deceived by Moses, and it is hard to see why the law should have been preserved for us."⁴ Again, he urges that if it is legitimate to allegorize the classics, then why not the Scriptures?⁵ The tower of Babel, for example, may have its obvious meaning, but it also has its recondite significance,⁶ and this sense of Scripture is inevitably "veiled."⁷

The danger of exegetical principles like these will be obvious. Any difficulty could be explained away, even unwelcome doctrinal teaching. Yet it may well be doubted whether Origen would have been condemned and his works burnt simply for his excessive allegorizing of the Bible. It is certainly remarkable that, while St. Jerome finds no words strong enough in his condemnation of books i-iii. of the *De Principiis*, he never says a word against the exegetical principles invoked in the fourth book. Origen, of course, was really condemned for his many fantastic doctrines.⁸

That Origen was lacking in the historical sense is unquestionable; his *Commentary on St. John* affords us many instances of this.⁹ Yet now and again he astonishes

¹ *Ibid.*, and esp. *Tom. X. 3 in Joan.*; and Socrates, *H.E. III. 23* and *V. 22*.

² *Ibid.* 17.

³ On *John x. 4*, and *Contra Celsum*, ii. 21.

⁴ *Contra Celsum*, VII. 18, *P.G. XI. 1447*.

⁵ *Ibid.* IV. 42, 48-49, *P.G. XI. 1099, 1106*.

⁶ *Ibid.* IV. 21, 1054; so, too, the formation of Eve, *Contra Celsum*, IV. 38.

⁷ *De Principiis*, IV. 6-7, and the *Prologue*, 8; for Origen's excessive allegorizing see *Hom. ii. 1* on *Exod.*, yet *cp. Hom. ii. 2* on *Genesis*.

⁸ Mansi, *Concilia*, IX. 533.

⁹ E.g. *Tom. X. 6-7, 14, 23, 28*, and *XIII. 58*; *P.G. XIII. 319, 339, 379, 395, 510*; and see *R.B.*, 1896, 282 for Origen's historical criticism.

us by his insistence on the historicity of Scripture.¹ He seems to have read historical works for the sake of his Biblical studies; thus, apropos of the land of Sennaar, he gives details and adds "as it is said in histories."² Again, he urges that in reading the Bible we have to note how and when any book was written.³ That all Scripture is inspired he takes for granted,⁴ though he fancies that its inspiration was not known till Christ came.⁵ And though disregarding the literal sense, he urges that the Biblical books are as good authorities for events as pagan literature.⁶ Lastly, despite all his teaching on the "veiled" meaning of the Bible and of the need for careful and prayerful investigation of it,⁷ Origen repeatedly insists on its amazing simplicity;⁸ he even gives examples from what missionaries have told him to this effect.⁹

Origen is generally credited with a good knowledge of Hebrew;¹⁰ indeed, he must have had a working knowledge of it to perform his task in preparing the Hexapla. But he certainly betrays a lack of any real knowledge of it at times,¹¹ though at other times he shows that he is acquainted with it.¹²

Before we go further it will be well to understand clearly what we mean when we speak of the Fathers "allegorizing." To allegorize does not mean drawing out the moral applications of events and teachings in the Bible. Metaphor is the use of some concrete term to express qualities in the

¹ E.g. *Hom.* ii. 6 on *Gen.*; ii. 1 on *Exod.*; xi. 1 on *Num.*; *Delarue*, II. 65, 133, 305.

² *Mansi, Concilia*, IX. 395-399, 523-535; cf. Chase, *Chrysostom*, p. 4 and Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 223.

³ *Contra Celsum*, V. 29, P.G. XI. 1226.

⁴ *Ibid.* IV. 53, 1115.

⁵ See especially *Contra Celsum*, III. 45.

⁶ *De Principiis*, IV. 6.

⁷ *Contra Celsum*, IV. 42.

⁸ *Ad Gregorium*, iii.; P.G. XI. 81.

⁹ *Contra Celsum*, VI. 2, 5; VII. 59-60.

¹⁰ Cf. St. Jerome, *Vir. Ill.* LIV., Ep. xxxix. 1; P.L. XXII. 465; Eusebius, *H.E.* VI. xvi.; see Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christian Biography*, II. 851-872, an article by C. J. Elliot, *Hebrew Learning among the Fathers*.

¹¹ E.g. *Tom.* XIX. 4 and XX. 10 in *Joan.*

¹² E.g. *De Princip.*, I. iii. 4 and IV. 26. See *Origène et l'orthodoxie Grecque* in Batiffol, *L'Eglise Naissante*, pp. 355-397.

ideal order ; thus the lion stands for strength. When, then, emphasis is laid on the power of the Messias He is spoken of as “the lion of Juda.” A shepherd symbolizes care and watchfulness. When, then, this character of the Messias is depicted He is spoken of as the Shepherd of Israel. Now allegory is simply the continuous use of metaphor, *e.g.* the Good Shepherd, the True Vine, the Door of the Sheep-fold, etc. To “allegorize,” then, in interpreting the Bible, means that we regard the expressions of concrete facts—for instance, the story of the formation of Eve, of the Ark of Noe, of the tower of Babel—as referring not so much to sober history as to ideals which the writer wishes to emphasize. If we tacitly or otherwise repudiate the historical character of these events, we are said to be “allegorizing” the Biblical narrative ; if we merely devote our attention to the ideals thus discoverable while accepting the historical character of the events, we are “moralizing” ; the latter is legitimate, the former not so. A concrete example will make this clearer. St. Paul instances the case of Abraham’s two sons, one by Sara, the other by Agar the bond-woman. Here we have a positive historical statement. But in itself it is of no particular interest to us ; its value lies in its significance. Hence St. Paul says, *These things are said by an allegory*, that is to say these facts are significative of something of real interest, and unless we grasp what that significance is, we are reading the Bible in an unintelligent way. Hence St. Paul continues : *For these are the two Testaments. The one from Mount Sina gendering unto bondage, which is Agar : for Sina is a mountain in Arabia which hath affinity to that Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children. But that Jerusalem which is above is free : which is our mother.*¹ Thus the Apostle passes from the significative words to the things they signify. But he does not for a moment mean that the significative words are not true nor have an historical value.² Some of the early Fathers, however, realizing that the synagogue had passed over into the Church, that *the law was but our pedagogue in Christ*,³ that the mere historical details of the Old Testament had little or no interest for the pagans whom they wished to convert, nor

¹ Gal. iv. 22-31.

Cor. x. 1-6

³ Gal. iv. 24.

even for the majority of Christians who felt that they belonged to the New Covenant, were convinced that effective appeal to the Old Testament lay in emphasizing this inner and deeper meaning whereby it pointed to the New. Philo, the Alexandrian Jew, had been compelled to do this in his efforts to make the Jewish Scriptures a living thing for the philosophizing pagans of his time. But, as St. Augustine points out, since "the veil"¹ was still on his heart he was consequently unable to see that in Christ alone was the true meaning of Scripture manifested; he frittered away his powers in subtle but meaningless disquisitions which led him nowhere.²

Since, however, the search for such applications of Scripture is merely the subjective working of the human reason, it is clear that such allegorical interpretations cannot serve as the basis of dogmatic teaching. Hence the Fathers who were the most prone to indulge in allegorical disquisitions turn at once to the literal meaning when they are controverting with heretics or want to establish some point of doctrine; this is particularly evident in the Fathers who had to combat the Arian tendencies of their day.

HIPPOLYTUS was a contemporary of Origen.³ His work on the Bible must, to judge by what St. Jerome⁴ tells us, have been very extensive, but with the exception of his commentary on *Daniel* and the recently discovered *Philosophumena* which is rather polemical than exegetical, all are lost to us. In the Lateran museum is preserved a remarkable statue of Hippolytus discovered in 1551. On the back are engraved the titles of many of his works. If we are to judge by the commentary on *Daniel*, Hippolytus, though freely allegorizing the Bible, is much more reserved than Origen and much more interested in the historical sense.⁵

DENIS OF ALEXANDRIA was, after Heraclas, Origen's successor as head of the catechetical School in Alexandria.⁶ He had been a pupil of Origen, and was devoted to his exegetical principles. He is principally of interest to us

¹ 2 Cor. iii. 13-16.

² *Contra Faustum*, XII. xxxix.

³ *H.E.* VI. 22.

⁴ *Vir.* III. lxi.; *Ep.* xxxvi. 16, xlviii. 19.

⁵ See D'Alès, *Théologie de S. Hippolyte*, 1906.

⁶ *H.E.* VI. xxix. 4.

from his scholarly defence of the authenticity of the Johanneine writings against the assaults of a certain Nepos, who had written *A Refutation of the Allegorists*.¹

PAMPHILUS THE MARTYR.—This great friend of Eusebius—who adopted the surname of Pamphilus out of veneration for him²—need only be mentioned here as the devoted adherent of Origen and his teachings. He, with Eusebius, wrote an *Apologia* for Origen in five books, to which Eusebius later added a sixth.³ Only the first is preserved for us.

EUSEBIUS OF CÆSAREA.—Despite his character of historian; despite, too, his deliberate statement that he will expound the literal and historical sense, Eusebius yet develops the allegorical meaning to a very large extent. At times, too, he does so in a fashion that is disconcerting; thus the opening words of St. John's Gospel “are to be understood only in a spiritual sense.”⁴ As a rule, however, no one can complain of his use of such interpretation; thus on Isa. xxxv. 1-7: “Carmel and Sharon were places belonging to foreign races; that would be the literal meaning, but figuratively . . .”⁵ So, too, after explaining Isaias' message to Achaz quite literally, he adds: “Such was the literal fulfilment; but the prophecy also shows figuratively the stability, calmness, and peace of every soul that receives God who was born, Emmanuel Himself.”⁶

Besides his *Præparatio Evangelica* and *Demonstratio Evangelica* we have little more exegetical work from Eusebius' pen than his commentaries on the *Psalms* and on *Isaias*, with fragments of a commentary on *St. Luke's Gospel*.

ST. ATHANASIUS.—His exegetical works have perished, but the fragments that remain show that he was devoted to the allegorical and mystical interpretation. A fact such as this should make us pause before we pass censure on the allegorizing methods of Origen and his school. Greater theologians than St. Athanasius, St. Hilary, and St. Cyril of Alexandria never fought the Church's battles. No one will question that these men were clear thinkers and possessed acute minds. Origen may be—indeed he is—disorderly in

¹ H.E. VII. xxv.

² St. Jerome, *Vir.* III. lxxxix.

³ *Ibid.* lxxxv. and *Ep.* lxxxiv. 11; Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cxviii.

⁴ *Dem. Evang.*, iv. 15. ⁵ *Ibid.* vi. 21. ⁶ *Ibid.* vii. 1.

his treatment of questions, but none can imagine such a thing of Athanasius. These men, then, must have seen in the allegorical method which they developed to such extraordinary lengths a real means of arriving at a true knowledge of the Bible and of the lessons it was primarily meant to teach.¹

ST. BASIL. — With this glorious name we come to the great Cappadocian school, as it is termed. Not that this means a school of thought distinct from the others; it is so named from the nationality of its great saints, St. Basil, with his brother St. Gregory of Nyssa, and St. Gregory Nazianzen. St. Basil was trained at Cæsarea, Constantinople and Athens. In the former place he came under the influence of Eusebius, and of course under the shadow of Origen. Yet it is remarkable that in his great exegetical work on the *Hexæmeron* he abandons the allegorical for the literal sense.

ST. GREGORY NAZIANZEN has left us practically no exegetical work. But if we are to judge by St. Basil's *Hexæmeron* we may presume that he, too, would have followed along the same lines of sober exegesis. One is tempted to think that these great Cappadocians were, like St. Athanasius and St. Cyril, driven to abandon allegorical exegesis by the stern necessities of their theological disputes. Allegory could find no scope in combating Arianism.

ST. GREGORY OF NYSSA.—Like his brother St. Basil, Gregory wrote on the *Hexæmeron*, also on the *Creation of Man*, and like him he laid aside the allegorical for the literal treatment. But in his other commentaries—on the *Titles of the Psalms*, on *Ecclesiastes*, and on the *Canticle of Canticles*—he revels in allegorical explanations. This should be noted, for it shows that even those Fathers who cultivated the allegorical method to an exaggerated extent were yet well aware of the true value of the literal sense. But, except in controversy, they did not feel that it afforded so fruitful an insight into the depths of sacred Scripture; thus note St. Gregory's "higher mystical assent" ἀναγωγικῶς.²

DIDYMUS THE BLIND was another disciple of Origen,

¹ See Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*, pp. 44, 68; Chase, *Chrysostom*, p. 10.

² *Oratio Catechetica*, ii.

though born long after the latter's death.¹ Of his numerous commentaries only fragments remain. But these suffice to show that he carried the allegorical method to its furthest limit. Unfortunately Didymus inherited Origen's theological as well as his exegetical errors, and consequently he was condemned by the Fifth Œcumenical Council in A.D. 553 as an “Origenist.”²

ST. AMBROSE.—It is difficult to arrive at a correct appreciation of St. Ambrose's position as an exegete, for in him we seem to have a reversion to the age and methods of Clement of Alexandria. He is steeped in Philo's writings;³ he insists on the same triple sense of Scripture, though his terms are different: the natural, the moral, and the mystic. The last-named is for him all-important, and he used it exclusively in his famous sermons on the Old Testament; we know that it was his method of interpretation which reconciled Augustine the Manichæan to Holy Scripture.⁴ Yet it would be absurd to suppose that Ambrose was ignorant of the literal interpretation. In fact the opposite is the case, for in his *Hexæmeron* he makes free use of St. Basil's similar work where the latter has purposely discarded the allegorical for the literal interpretation.⁵ The truth is that

¹ *Vir. Ill.*, cix.

² Mansi, *Concilia*, ix.; Socrates, *H.E.* iv. 25. See *Didyme l'Aveugle*, by Bardy, 1910.

³ See Labriolle, *Latin Christianity*, 268 and 282; for St. Ambrose's sense of the typical aspect of O.T. scenes and personages see his use of Jer. xxxviii. 11 in *De Spiritu Sancto*, ii. 10, and note his words on “The Mystery of Holy Scripture,” *Ep.* ii. 3, *de Paradiso*, ii., *P.L.* XIV. 293.

⁴ “How glad I was to hear the Old Testament, the law, and the prophets set before me from a different point of view than that which had made them seem so absurd to me; so strange it seemed that Thy saints should have held such ideas; and, after all, they really did not hold them! How gladly I heard Ambrose constantly repeating, in his sermons to the populace, ‘The letter killeth, the spirit quickeneth’; indeed, he was always urging this as a principle in interpretation” (*Confess.*, VI. iv. 6; cf. *De Doctr. Christ.*, iv. 46-50).

⁵ See Egleston, *The Hexæmeral Literature*, 1912. It would be hard to pen a more unjust estimate of St. Ambrose's exegetical powers than the following:

“In his eyes it (the Bible) is really a species of sacred cypher. The plain, obvious meaning of any passage is never the whole of what it is intended to mean to the Christian reader. Faith lives by the deeper meanings which can be disinterred, and the task of the Christian teacher is to lay these before his audience. To this task St. Ambrose

Ambrose was before all things the apostolic Bishop concerned with the needs of his flock. The Bible was the material whence he was to draw spiritual food for their souls. He had to teach them how to live so as to gain the kingdom of heaven. It was spiritual lessons they needed, not lectures in Biblical exegesis. Hence while he bases his teachings on the Bible, he does not trouble to expound it literally, for that would not have helped them. Besides his sermons on the Old Testament, mostly on the characters in *Genesis*, the only commentary we have on the New Testament, that on *St. Luke*, was always a favourite work with later writers.

That St. Ambrose was fully alive to the importance of the literal sense appears at every turn; he demands the use of the spirit *and* the letter.¹

Since the days of Ballerini² no one now assigns the invaluable *Commentaria in tredecim Epistolas B. Pauli* to St. Ambrose. The author mentions P. Damasus as the then reigning Pontiff³ and St. Augustine quotes the comment from this writer on Rom. v. 12 as by "Sanctus Hilarius."⁴ All sorts of opinions have been put forward as to the identity of the writer: Hilary the deacon, a Luciferian, Faustinus, the converted Jew, Isaac,⁵ etc. The commentary adheres to the literal sense and is exceedingly useful.⁶

ST. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA ranks with St. Athanasius as the Alexandrian champion of orthodoxy; the former was

brought an utterly uncritical mind, unhampered by any knowledge of Hebrew or by any considerations of historical perspective. He is like a man turning over an immense heap of variously-shaped fragments. What the original design may have been does not concern him. He merely fits them together as his fancy prompts him into wholly unexpected patterns. . . . No doubt as to the value of the patterns which he formed seems ever to have crossed his mind" (*Journal of Theol. Studies*, July, 1915).

¹ E.g. *De Officiis*, I. 31; *De Resurrectione*, II. 99-100; *De Obitu Satyris*, II. 23-25, 69-75; *De Mysteriorum* throughout. See Labriolle, *S. Ambroise*, 1908.

² *Opera S. Ambrosii*, III. 349 ff.

³ On 1 Tim. iii. 15.

⁴ *Contra duas epistolas Pelagianorum*, iv. 7, P.L. XLIV. 614.

⁵ See Bardenhewer, *Patrologie*, II. 340-341; Souter in *J.T.S.*, October, 1902, April, 1906, January, 1923, p. 187; *Expositor*, 1914 pp. 224-232; also *A Study of Ambrosiaster*, Texts and Studies, VII.

⁶ P.L. XVII. 45-508.

the opponent of Arianism, the latter of Nestorianism. His exegetical work is about equally divided between the Old and the New Testaments. The very title of his great work, *De Adoratione in spiritu et veritate*, shows us what to expect in his treatment of Mosaic religion; the spiritual and the mystical sense of the now abrogated law alone survive, they alone have any real interest for us. The same treatment prevails in his *Glaphura* wherein he studies the figurative meanings of various passages in the Pentateuch. But it is quite different when we come to his famous *Commentary on St. John*. Here he comes to grips with Nestorianism, and the literal sense is all-important. This is especially evident when we read his Scriptural expositions of Catholic doctrine on the Incarnation in the course of the Council of Ephesus. It would almost seem that these Alexandrians had recourse to allegorical explanations of the Mosaic law simply because it was no longer binding on the Christian; for when we turn to Cyril's *Commentary on the Minor Prophets* we find the same attention paid to the grammatical and historical sense as in his treatment of St. John's Gospel.¹

ii. The Antiochian School was apparently founded by MALCHION whom Eusebius speaks of as “the head of the sophist school of Greek learning at Antioch”;² he was one of those who opposed Arius' doctrines from the very outset.³ But the name primarily associated with this school of exegesis is that of LUCIAN OF SAMOSATA. He had Arius for his pupil, and was a friend of the heretic Paul of Samosata whose opinions he at first adopted, but ultimately he died a martyr for the faith at Nicomedia.⁴ No exegetical work of his remains to us, but his edition of the Septuagint has left an abiding trace on our editions of the Greek Bible.⁵

ST. EPHRAEM and his predecessor ST. APHRAATES really belong to the school of Edessa, but we may group them here with the Antiochian school since their exegetical

¹ See Socrates, *H.E.* vii. 7-13, 34; Nau, *S. Cyril et Nestorius*, 1909.

² *H.E.* VII. xxix. 2; St. Jerome, *Ep.* lxx. 4. ³ *H.E.*, *ibid.*

⁴ *H.E.* VIII. xiii. 2; IX. vi. 3.

⁵ St. Jerome, *Præf. in Paralip.*, P.L. XXVIII. 1323-27 *Vir. Ill.*, lxxvii. See Routh, *Reliquiæ*, iv. 3-17.

principles were the same.¹ They stood for the literal as opposed to the allegorical sense of Scripture; but their national tendencies betrayed themselves in their poetic temperament and in their obstinate dislike of progress. St. Ephraem and St. Basil had much in common and were in correspondence.²

DIODORUS OF TARSUS is said to have written on all the books of the Bible, but little save fragments remains to us in the various *Catenæ Patrum*. It is a real misfortune that we only have the title of his treatise *De Differentia inter Theoriam et Allegoriam*, for here he must have set out his views in opposition to the tenets of the Alexandrian school. By "theoria" he means the typical or prophetic interpretation based on the literal sense as opposed to pure allegory.³

ST. EPIPHANIUS was, despite his meekness of character, a strong opponent of the Origenists, as the upholders of Origen's heretical views were termed. He spoke against Origen in the presence of John of Jerusalem,⁴ and was instrumental in securing his condemnation, though apparently he was deceived by the unscrupulous John. St. Jerome calls him Πεντάγλωττας, as knowing five languages.⁵ None of his exegetical work remains, but in his treatise *De Mensuris et Ponderibus* he deals with questions of Biblical introduction, the canon, the versions, and the geography of Palestine.

ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM is the real glory of the Antiochian school; yet in a curious fashion he stands apart from it. Perhaps we can best express this by saying that sobriety of judgement is his characteristic. The needs of the people governed his exegesis. He was before all things the pastor of souls, the preacher of the Word of God. The literal sense, the connection of thought, the mind of the author, these are the things that appeal to him. It is safe to say

¹ See Chase, *Chrysostom: A Study in the History of Biblical Interpretation*, p. 6.

² Sozomen, *H.E.* iii. 16; Chase, *Chrysostom*, l.c.

³ Bardenhewer, *Patrologie*, II. 139; Socrates, *H.E.* vi. 3; Sozomen, *H.E.* viii. 2; St. Jerome, *Vir. Ill.*, cxix.

⁴ Socrates, *H.E.* vi. 11-13; St. Jerome, *Contra Joan. Hieros.*, 9-14, and *Ep.* li. 5.

⁵ *Adv. Rufin.*, iii. 6.

that no commentator has ever so skilfully disentangled St. Paul's sequence of ideas as St. Chrysostom has done. This is peculiarly the case in his commentary on *Romans*. The marvel is, of course, that his hearers understood him; yet that they did so is clear from the way in which they applauded him. He insists on the literal sense: “First let us hear the history,” he says when discussing the Passover feast.¹ Yet he followed Origen in his commentary on *Galatians*, and St. Jerome expressly tells us that the views he himself had set forth about St. Paul's withstanding St. Peter at Antioch were derived from Chrysostom, who in turn had taken them from Origen.² He is said, too, to have befriended the persecuted Origenists.³

This makes Chrysostom's position in the world of exegesis of great interest. He seems to stand midway between the extremes of either school; he loves the literal interpretation, but he will not repudiate allegory in its proper place. Thus when commenting on the parable of the vineyard in Isa. v., he says:

“Here we learn an important lesson: when and where we may allegorize. We are not irresponsible exponents of the laws on this matter; we may only apply the system of allegorical interpretation when we are following the mind of Scripture. In this present case Scripture speaks of a vine, a hedge. It does not leave the hearer free to attach the words to what persons or events he will, but goes on to interpret itself: ‘For the vineyard of the Lord of hosts,’ etc. And this is the universal law of Scripture when it speaks in allegories, viz. to supply the interpretation of the allegory, so that the uncontrolled passions of those who are bent on allegorizing may not be left free to wander and penetrate elsewhere without system or principle.”⁴

To judge by his etymologies of Adam, Abraham, etc.,⁵ Chrysostom's knowledge of Hebrew seems to have been second-hand. His account of the origin of the Septuagint translation is particularly sober; he knows the historical facts as given in the *Letter of Aristeus*, he realizes that for

¹ See Chase, *Chrysostom*, p. 52.

² St. Jerome, *Ep.* lxxv. 4 (inter Epp. St. Aug.); St. Augustine, *Ep.* lxxxii. 23.

³ See *Hom.* iii. on Rom. i. 24-25; *Hom.* x. on Rom. v. 14; *Hom.* xxxi. on Rom. xvi. 16.

⁴ Quoted by Chase, *Chrysostom*, 1887, pp. 60-61.

⁵ *L.c.*, pp. 30-32. For another study of St. Chrysostom see Chr. Baur, O.S.B., *Chrysostome et ses Œuvres dans l'Histoire Littéraire*, 1907.

the propagation of Christianity nothing could have been more providential, but he seems to have no place for the notion that the translators were themselves inspired, as even such authorities as St. Augustine and St. Jerome held.¹ The Septuagint he used seems to have been the edition of Lucian.

THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA.—It is with this name, even more than that of Chrysostom, that the Antiochian school is identified in the minds of most. A great but erratic genius, his writings did more than those of any other to make Nestorianism the curse of the East. He was, with Chrysostom and Maximus, a student under the famous Libanius who was a heathen.² For his philosophical studies he was under Diodorus, afterwards Bishop of Tarsus.³ St. Chrysostom's influence over him was such that he gave up at his appeal a marriage he had contemplated.⁴ As an exegete he devoted himself wholly to the grammatical and literal meaning; to such an extent did he carry his ideas that he destroyed the Messianic character of many prophecies. He looked on *Job* as a heathen drama,⁵ and on the *Canticle of Canticles* as a mere love-song.⁶ Though Theodore apparently commented on all Scripture, there only survive his commentaries on the *Minor Prophets* and on nine of St. Paul's *Epistles*. This latter exists in a Latin translation and in fragments of the Greek. In it, perhaps, we have the best example of the Antiochian school of grammatical and literal exegesis. As Dr. Swete says in the *Introduction* to his edition of these commentaries:

"The chief value of Theodore's commentaries on St. Paul consists in their constant endeavour to expound the sequence of the thought, their careful examination of the clauses and phraseology, their frequent dashes of characteristic and suggestive exegesis, the light they occasionally throw on the condition of the Eastern Church at the beginning of the fifth century, and perhaps, not least, the clear and wellnigh complete view which they present of the Antiochene theology, both in its indebtedness to, and in its divergence from, the theology of St. Paul."

¹ See *below*, p. 185.

³ Socrates, *H.E.* vi. 3.

⁵ See *below*.

² Sozomen, *H.E.* viii. 2.

⁴ Sozomen, *H.E.* viii. 2.

⁶ See *below*.

Theodore's opposition to the allegorizing school comes out strongly when he is commenting on Gal. iv., “which things are said by an allegory. . . .”

“Those whose aim it is to invert the meaning of the divine Scriptures, to pervert everything therein set down, to weave instead stupid fables out of their own heads, and who bestow the title of ‘allegory’ on their own follies, are wont to misuse this expression of the Apostle's; they argue from it that they have the right to make short shrift with all the meaning of the Scriptures on the ground that, like the Apostle, they are trying to speak ‘by an allegory.’ Such folk do not grasp what a difference there is between what they say and what the Apostle here says. For he does not get rid of the history, neither does he excogitate any fresh thing; but he sets down the facts as they are, and then makes use of the history of those facts for his own purposes. . . . But these people do exactly the contrary; for they try to make out that the entire history given in the Bible is really only like a dream in one's sleep. For them ‘Adam’ does not mean Adam—when, that is, they are trying to interpret the divine Scriptures ‘in a spiritual’ fashion; nor does ‘paradise’ mean paradise, nor ‘the serpent’ a serpent. To such I should like to point out that when they treat history like that then there is no history left! But when they have thus abolished history, what right have they got to say who the first man was? How do they know he was disobedient? Why, too, was sentence of death passed upon him?”¹

The Council of Constantinople, A.D. 553, condemned Theodore for his Nestorianism. In the fourth session excerpts from his writings were read to show the character of his teaching. There are seventy-one of these extracts, and it is interesting to note the works from which they were taken. His commentaries on *Matthew*, *Luke*, and *John*, on *Acts* and *Hebrews*, are quoted; also on the *Psalms*; also his treatises against Apollinarius, on the Incarnation, on the Creed, and an address to those preparing for Baptism. There is no citation from his commentaries on the rest of St. Paul, nor from those on the minor prophets. It is legitimate to conclude that it was precisely because these works were practically free from the taint of Nestorianism that they have survived. Citations lxiii-lxxi are of peculiar interest for us; after quoting Theodore's denial of the reality of the flaming sword at the gates of Eden, as also of the Cherubim, he is further quoted as saying:

¹ Commentary on *Galatians*, ed. Swete.

"To these things which were written for men's instruction we must add the books of Solomon, *i.e.* *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiasticus*; these he compiled on his own authority for men's profit; for he had not received the gift of prophecy, but only that of prudence."

There then follow extracts from Theodore's commentary on *Job*, a book which he regards as eminently unworthy of a man of God; "and," says Theodore, "these things are nothing in comparison with what appears at the close," where he incriminates the author for calling Job's daughter Amalthæa: that, he says, is pure paganism! There follow extracts from his commentaries on *Canticles*. "It is neither prophecy nor history," he declares; he jeers at the passionate expressions which recur in it, and he concludes: "If the author had the gift of prophecy, he would have made some mention of the name of God (for there is no prophetic Scripture in which God is not named); it is a love-song, no different from those Plato wrote after a banquet!"¹

But it is worth noting that in the fourteen anathemas which were drawn up at the Council there is no mention of these Biblical views;² he was not expressly condemned for them, but for the heretical tenets he deduced from Scripture. At the same time all his *scripta* are expressly repudiated, a fact which is especially noticeable in the letters of Pope Vigilius after the Council,³ and also in the letter written by Pope Pelagius II. to the Bishops of Istria who had resented the condemnation.⁴

ADRIAN.—Migne edits an *Introduction to the Divine Scriptures* by a certain Adrian, who was a priest and a member of the Antiochian school. He seems to have been a contemporary of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and his work may be regarded as the first *Biblical Introduction* penned. In it he upholds the claims of the literal sense.⁵

¹ Mansi, *Concilia*, IX. 203-227.

² *Ibid.* 375-388.

³ *Ibid.* 418, 487.

⁴ *Ibid.* 438; for the chronology of Theodore's life see Vosté in *R. B.*, January, 1925.

⁵ There may be a reference to him in Socrates, *H. E.* III. 23, where, however, it is proposed to read *Lucian* instead of Adrian. Socrates is engaged in showing the folly of Julian the Apostate in his insistence on the allegorical sense of Scripture, which he turned into blasphemy; had he rightly understood Origen—and apparently this same Adrian—

ISIDORE OF PELUSIUM, also a contemporary of Theodore, was a disciple of St. Chrysostom; in his numerous letters he upholds the historical and grammatical interpretation without refusing, however, a place for allegorization when it makes for edification.¹

THEODORET OF CYRA. — This famous continuator of Eusebius' *Church History* wrote a great deal on the historical books of the Old Testament,² also on the Psalter,³ on *Canticles*,⁴ and on the major and minor prophets.⁵ He is sometimes spoken of as though he were merely an echo of St. Chrysostom, but this is far from being the case. He is singularly clear and concise, and in certain respects presents the best example of the school of literal exegesis. Unfortunately he leagued himself with the opponents of St. Cyril, though he afterwards recanted. His writings, however, were too tainted with Nestorianism to escape condemnation along with those of Theodore and Ibas the Persian at the Council of 552.⁶

With the death of Theodoret the school of Antioch may be said to have ended. The tradition of St. Chrysostom was, however, carried on by such immediate disciples as Isidore of Pelusium, Nilus, and Victor of Antioch. Later on we find such names as ST. JOHN DAMASCENE in the eighth century, ŒCUMENIUS in the ninth, and THEOPHYLACT in the eleventh. But they are—as far as exegesis goes—but faint echoes of the master.

iii. The Latin School.—TERTULLIAN takes the spiritual or allegorical sense of Scripture for granted: "I purposely refrain from touching on the mysterious senses of the law in its spiritual and prophetic character, abounding as it

argued Socrates, he would have grasped the value of the literal meaning.

¹ Bardenhewer, *Patrologie*, II. 248.

² P.G. LXXX.

³ *Ibid.* and LXXXIV.

⁴ *Ibid.* LXXXI.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Mansi, *Concilia*, IX. 252 ff., 290-297, 360, 418. At the same time note how careful Pope Pelagius is to say: "We do not condemn all Theodoret's writings, but those only which he wrote against Cyril's *Twelve Chapters*, those only which it is shown that he did at times write contrary to sound faith. We know that he himself condemned them, since in the Council of Chalcedon he confessed the truth" (*ibid.* 450).

does in types of almost every kind.”¹ At other times he comments in detail on such passages as 1 Cor. i., “the true wisdom of God,” and Gal. iv., the allegory of Sara and Agar;² for him it is a matter of common consent that Isaac, Jacob and Moses are really types of Christ,³ and that Jacob in his prophecy about Benjamin, “the ravening wolf,” referred to Saul who became St. Paul.⁴ Yet he is well aware of the impossibility of basing doctrine on allegorical explanations or even on Christ’s parables: “We do not make the parables the sources whence we devise our subject-matter; rather the subject-matter is the source whence we interpret the parables.”⁵ Truly a golden principle!⁶

ST. CYPRIAN is hardly an expositor of Scripture. His interests lie with a Christian people sorely tried in persecution, and with the Jews who repudiated Christ. In proving to these latter the divinity of Christ, he appeals not simply to the direct prophecies, but especially to the typical or figurative character of many persons and events narrated in Scripture, though he emphasizes the “prophecies” throughout his *Testimonia* against the Jews.⁷ The “mountain” of Daniel is Christ;⁸ Isaac, Joseph and Samuel prefigured Him,⁹ just as the manna prefigured the Holy Eucharist.¹⁰ And this is for Cyprian—as for all the Fathers—the real sense of Scripture; if we do not realize this, we are blind to what God meant us to learn from His sacred word.¹¹ Similarly no one could be plainer than Novatian, Cyprian’s contemporary, when speaking of anthropomorphic expressions regarding the Deity: “The prophet was speaking about God in parables, according to the period of faith; not as God really was, but according as the populace were able to receive Him. Thus, that such expressions as these should be used about God is to be imputed not to God, but to the people.”¹²

¹ *Adv. Marcionem*, II. xix.

² *Ibid.* V. vi., iv.

³ *Ibid.* III. xviii.

⁴ *Ibid.* V. i.

⁵ *De Modestia*, ix.

⁶ See Freppel, *Tertullian*, 1864.

⁷ *Testim.*, ii. 20-30.

⁸ *Ibid.* 17.

⁹ *Ibid.* i. 20.

¹⁰ *Ep.* lxxv. 14.

¹¹ See S. Cyprien et son Temps (*Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique Chrétienne*, vol. ii.), 1902. For bibliography see *J.T.S.*, October, 1905; D'Alès, *Théologie de S. Cyprien*, 1922.

¹² *De Trin.*, vi.

ST. HILARY OF POITIERS, declared a Doctor of the Church in 1851, is really the first exegete among the Latins. The two principal exegetical works that have survived are his commentaries on the *Psalms* and on *St. Matthew*. In the latter he is solely concerned with the typical, "celestial," and "interior" sense; grammar and history have no particular interest for him. In the former, which dates from his later days, he has—while keeping the same object before him—devoted much more pains to the literal meaning. According to St. Jerome¹ Hilary derived much of his exegesis from Origen; indeed, he declares that his commentary on *Job*—now lost—was really a translation of Origen's commentary.² St. Hilary's influence on later ages was very great, especially through his commentary on *St. Matthew*. But it was as an apologist for Trinitarian doctrine and as a poet that he was best known. St. Jerome speaks of him as "*Latinæ eloquentiæ Rhodanus*."³

ST. JEROME.—His attitude on the questions which divided the Alexandrian and the Antiochian schools was governed by several factors. First, there was his own enormous erudition; he had apparently read everybody, whether Greek or Latin, who had written on the Bible.⁴ Hence he had an intimate knowledge of their methods of exegesis. Then, while devoted to the study of Origen, the *Ecclesiarum Magister*,⁵ and the "*Doctor*,"⁶ he abominated his doctrinal views, even dubbing him the "*fons Arianorum*."⁷ Again and again he distinguishes between Origen the theologian and Origen the exegete: "*Laudavi interpretem, non dogmatisten: ingenium, non fidem: Philosophum, non Apostolum*."⁸ And even as an interpreter Origen had to be

¹ *Ep.* cxii. 20.

² *Vir. Ill.*, c.

³ *Præf. in lib.* ii. on *Galatians*; cf. *J.T.S.*, April, 1904, on St. Hilary as the first Latin Christian poet. That St. Hilary knew no Hebrew is clear from his commentary on Ps. cxxxviii., *P.L.* IX. 775; cf. St. Jerome, *Ep.* xxxiv. 3, *P.L.* XXII. 449.

⁴ *E.g.* *Ep.* l. i, *Prol. to Comment. on St. Matthew*, *Prol. to Comment. on Ephesians*.

⁵ *Adv. Ruf.*, i. 24; *Prol.* to his translation of Origen on *Jeremias* and *Ezekiel*, *P.L.* XXV. 583.

⁶ *Ep.* lxxxiv. 7; cf. *Præf. in Lib. de Nominibus Hebraicis*.

⁷ *Ep.* lxxxiv. 4; "*Scio universa quæ scripsit*," *Ep.* lxxxiv. 3.

⁸ *Ibid.* and lxii. 2, lxxxii. 7, lxxxiv. 2, 3, lxxxv. 4, xcvi. 12.

read carefully because of his excessive allegorization: "What induced him to destroy the truth of Scripture for the sake of the shadows and dim images of allegory?"¹ St. Jerome forcibly states his own independent position on this point: Origen, Hippolytus and Didymus have commented, he says, on *Zacharias*, "but the whole of their exegesis was allegorical and scarcely touched the historical aspect. Consequently I have here made a compound from Hebrew history and the tropological teaching of our exegetes so that I might build upon a rock and not upon sand, and thus lay a solid foundation."² Origen had imperilled the "truth of Scripture"; but for St. Jerome, as for St. Augustine, the Bible was essentially and irrevocably true; the Gospels cannot contradict one another,³ book cannot be opposed to book:⁴ "Doctrinæ Auctor unus est Deus."⁵ "Unless you believe all these things which are written of the saints"—he has been referring to the formation of Eve and the creation of Adam, to the Ark, Abraham, Enoch, Elias, and Eliseus, and the whole Old Testament history—"you cannot believe in the God of the saints; you cannot attain to the faith of the Old Testament, save you accept whatsoever the history tells you of the patriarchs and the prophets and other famous men."⁶

Yet, withal, St. Jerome is fully alive to the different "senses" of Scripture:

"There is a threefold rule of Scripture: firstly, that we take it historically; secondly, tropologically; thirdly, spiritually. In the history the order of the things written is followed. In the tropology we rise from the letter to higher things, and whatsoever was done in carnal fashion among those primitive people we interpret in a moral sense, and use for the profit of our souls. In the spiritual way of looking at it, *theopla*, we pass to things still more lofty; we leave the things of earth, and deal with things of heaven and the bliss of the future."⁷

Nor does St. Jerome mean that we can have recourse to these "spiritual" interpretations only when it seems profit-

¹ *Ep.* xcvi. 10; *cf.* *Ep.* li. 5, on *Ezech.* xvi. 31, on *Eph.* iii. 7; *Ep.* liii. 8; *Adv. Lucif.* at close, on *Gal.* iii. 3.

² Prologue to his commentary on *Zacharias*, *P.L.* XXV. 1418.

³ On *Matt.* xxvii. 32, 44. ⁴ *Ep.* xlvi. 6.

⁵ On *Eccles.* xii., *P.L.* XXIII. 1114.

⁶ On *Philem.* 6.

⁷ *Ep.* cxx. 12; on *Eph.* i. 21; *Prolog. to Comment. on Matthew.*

able to our souls; at times it is necessary, for “Heresies spring from a carnal understanding of Scripture.”¹ “We must not imagine that the Gospel lies in the words of Scripture, but in the meaning; not in the husk, but in the kernel; not in the words which are the leaves, but in the root which is the meaning.”² Indeed, at times St. Jerome almost seems to concede with Origen that the actual letter is frankly impossible; thus, apropos of the ass and her colt: “When, then, the history presents us with an impossibility or an absurdity, we are meant to pass to things more sublime”—the ass is the synagogue, her colt stands for the Gentiles;³ he means that we have to interweave in a commentary the literal and the spiritual interpretation.⁴ Thus he says of St. Paul that, “when dealing with those things that are written ‘quasi juxta historiam,’ he, knowing the law was spiritual, took a higher view and realized that what was said about kings and princes, leaders, tribunes and centurions in the books of *Numbers* and *Kingdoms* was but an image of other kings and princes,” viz. in the heavenly places.⁵

It is certainly remarkable how freely St. Jerome seems to deal at times with the literal history. Thus, apropos of Herod being “saddened”:⁶ “it is the wont of Scripture for the historian to set down the opinion of the multitude according as it was at that time believed by all.”⁷ Again, apropos of Ananias, who is styled by Jeremias a “prophet,” though he was a false prophet, he points out that the Greek translators omitted the title “prophet,” “as though there were not many things said in Holy Scripture in accordance with the opinion of the time at which they took place, and not in accordance with the real truth of the matter”;⁸ just previously he had said: “The truth and order of the history are preserved, as we have said, not according to what actually took place, but according to what was thought at that time”;⁹ and again: “Many things are said in Scripture ‘quæ non

¹ On Gal. v. 12.

² On Gal. i. 12; cf. on iii. 3.

³ On Matt. xxi. 5.

⁴ *Prol. to Comment. on Matthew*; cf. *Ep.* xlviii. 14, 17, and on Gal. i. 12, v. 12.

⁵ On Eph. i. 21.

⁶ Matt. xiv. 8.

⁷ On Matt. xiv. 8.

⁸ On Jer. xxviii. 10.

⁹ On Jer. xxviii. 5.

possunt stare juxta historiam';¹ careful examination will show, however, that St. Jerome had only in view expressions which, though rigorously speaking inaccurate, are sanctioned by usage and not calculated to mislead anybody."²

ST. AUGUSTINE.—Here we come to a type of mind radically differing from that of St. Jerome. A scholar of the highest order, saturated in the Bible, with an unrivalled dialectical power, Augustine lacked Jerome's marvellous knowledge of Hebrew³ and of Palestine. His Bible was the Septuagint, whether in Greek or Latin, and this he studied simply for the sake of the souls of men. Points of textual criticism had no interest for him, save in so far as they removed stumbling-blocks from the feet of men who cavilled at what seemed to them unintelligible. But this very apostolic zeal led Augustine to investigate closely the question of the various senses of Scripture with a view to escaping pitfalls which might lead to heresy or unsound teaching: "Heresies and doctrines which ensnare souls and cast them into hell only spring from bad use of good Scriptures, especially when an unsound interpretation of them finds vent in rash and bold assertions."⁴ For Augustine the authority of the Bible was absolute and unquestionable.⁵ But to accept it as such necessitated the authority of the Church, since—as he boldly declares—there is hardly a single book which does not, at least in appearance, contradict some other book.⁶ Hence his challenge to the Manichee: "If you met someone who did not believe the Gospel, what could you say to him when he said, 'I don't believe it'? Why, I myself would not believe the Gospels unless the authority of the Catholic Church impelled me

¹ On Isa. xix. 1, P.L. XXIV. 250; *cf.* on Ezech. xxx. at the end, on Abdias 20, on Dan. xi.

² Encyclical, *Spiritus Paracletus*, *Acta Apostolicæ Sedis*, 1920, p. 396; see L. Sanders, O.S.B., *Études sur S. Jerome*, 1903; Hoberg, *De Sti. Hieronymi ratione Interpretandi*.

³ *Ep.* ci. 4; *cf.* *Ep.* xxviii. 2, lxxi. 4, lxxxii. 34-35; *Contra Faustum*, xii. 37; yet, on the other hand, note *Ep.* cxcix. 21.

⁴ *Tract.* xviii. 1 in Joan.; *Ep.* cxxiii. 3.

⁵ E.g. *Ep.* xxviii. 63-66, xl. 5, lxxxii. 3, all to St. Jerome; *Sermo* ccxxxv. 1; *Contra Cresconium*, i. 32-33, 39, ii. 37; *Enarr. in Ps* lxvi. 10, etc.

⁶ *Sermo* L. 13.

thereto."¹ For Augustine Scripture is, of course, inspired; ² God is its Author,³ the Holy Spirit wrote it,⁴ and consequently its various books enjoy an authority that no others can claim.⁵ But—and here lies the whole force of Augustine's interpretation of Scripture—it is given us in four forms: as history, as ætiology, as analogy, and as allegory. The first named gives us what is said or done; the second the causes for so doing; the third shows the harmony of the two Testaments; the fourth "according to allegory, that is when we are taught that certain things which are written are not to be taken literally but figuratively."⁶ But in saying this Augustine is far from meaning that these passages have no literal sense; he is only insisting that their truest meaning is what they foreshadowed, though their literal sense is perfectly true. This will be clear from the examples he gives: Jonas prefigured Christ's Resurrection,⁷ the Exodus and its marvels were figurative of our lives,⁸ and, lastly, the story of Abraham and Agar is figurative of the two covenants, as St. Paul himself declares.⁹ By "allegory" Augustine does not here mean extended metaphor, nor the merely figurative speech which has no corresponding reality,¹⁰ but simply the figurative aspect of many sayings and events in the Old Testament. Augustine claims to give the above fourfold sense of Scripture, not on his own authority, but "quia sic accepi";¹¹ it was, then, traditional in his time. But it cannot be called a satisfactory division. The literal and the allegorical senses are clear enough, but to term the analogies between the two Testaments, or the statement of the causes which led to certain actions, "senses" of Scripture is hardly helpful. Elsewhere¹² he correctly explains allegory as meaning "a figure of speech where one thing is said and another

¹ *Contra Epistolam Fundamentalem*, v. 6.

² *De Consensu*, III. xxx. 29, and *cp. Tract.* xvi. 2 and xxv. 6 in Joan.

³ *Confess.* I. xxxv. 54; *cf. Contra Adversarium Legis*, II. 13; the Scriptures are "letters from our Fatherland," *Enarr. in Ps.* cxlix. 2.

⁴ *Sermo* ccxxxv. 1.

⁵ *Contra Faustum*, XI. 5.

⁶ *De Utilitate Credendi*, iii-v. 5-12; *De Gen. ad litt., Opus Impf.*, ii. 5.

⁷ *Matt.* xii. 39-40. ⁸ *1 Cor.* x. 1-11. ⁹ *Gal.* iv. 22-26.

¹⁰ For various meanings of "allegory" see *De Vera Religione*, 98-99.

¹¹ *De Utilitate Credendi*, iii.

¹² *De Trin.*, XV. ix. 15; *1 Thess.* v. 6-8.

meant"; he gives as an instance "we who are of the day are sober"; still more fully¹ "when something appears to mean one thing in words but another in the mind," and he instances the way in which Christ is termed now a Lamb,² now a Lion,³ now a Rock,⁴ now a Mountain.⁵ These expressions are not literally true; they are figures of speech, and we should call them metaphors rather than allegories, which, strictly speaking, are only extended metaphors, just as parables are extended proverbs. It must be confessed that Augustine is not as precise in his use of terms as we could wish. He uses the term "allegory" now generically for the spiritual sense—that, namely, which is signified by the events or persons in the Scripture narrative—now specifically for one of the three subdivisions of that spiritual sense, namely when such persons or things prefigure Christ and the Church; at other times he speaks of allegory where we should speak of metaphor. But the points that particularly concern us are that (a) he holds that prophecies are of three kinds: those that refer to the earthly Jerusalem, those that refer to the heavenly, and those that refer to both; "and just as I feel that they gravely err who fancy that none of the events in Scripture have any other meaning than the literal, so, too, I feel that they are very audacious who maintain that everything in the Bible is wrapped up in allegorical meanings";⁶ (b) he insists that there is a spiritual (allegorical) sense,⁷ for as the Apostle says: *All these things happened to them in figure*;⁸ (c) that it is necessary at times to have recourse to such interpretations,⁹ when, that is, the purely literal sense would involve us in absurdities, e.g. in anthropomorphic expressions about God;¹⁰ (d) at the same time his whole effort in his *De Genesi ad Litteram* is to show that the literal sense is true and justifiable;¹¹ (e) that the spiritual (allegorical) sense can afford no basis for doctrine,¹² though he even allows that "the prophet who was author of this book (*Genesis*) had

¹ On Ps. ciii. 3.² John i. 29.³ Apoc. v. 5.⁴ I Cor. x. 4.⁵ Dan. ii. 35.⁶ *Civitate Dei*, XVII. iii. 2.⁷ *De Gen. ad litt.*, I. i. 1.⁸ I Cor. x. 11.⁹ *De Gen. ad litt.*, VIII. ii. 5; XI. i. 2; *Contra Faustum*, XXII. 94-95.¹⁰ *Ep.* cxx. 14; *Doctr. Christiana*, III. v. 9.¹¹ *De Gen. ad litt.*, VIII. i. 2, 4; ii. 5; IX. xii. 22.¹² *Ep.* xciii. 24; *Contra Faustum*, XII. 7.

especially in view that his narrative of facts should be prefigurative of future things.”¹

We referred above to St. Augustine's dependence on his predecessors for his teaching on the “senses” of Scripture. When he was first ordained he demanded time to devote himself to the study of the Bible, and a little later he writes to Aurelius, the Archbishop of Carthage, saying: “I am not neglecting what you told me, and I am waiting to hear—as I have several times written to you—what you think of Tyconius' *Seven Rules* or keys.”² This Tyconius was a famous Donatist—in fact, he was the author of the notorious Donatist dictum, “quod volumus sanctum est,” which St. Augustine riddled so pitilessly.³ His treatise on the *Seven Rules*, as well as his now lost *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, had an immense influence on subsequent ages.⁴ In his *Manual of Biblical Introduction*,⁵ as we may term it, St. Augustine analyzes these *Rules* very minutely, and they undoubtedly played a great part in forming his mind. This appears conspicuously in his mystical dealing with numbers, in which art Tyconius seems to have been a past master.⁶ “These *Rules*,” says Augustine, “are of no small assistance in penetrating the hidden meanings of the divine eloquence. . . . Tyconius' book should be read by the student, for it is very helpful for understanding the Bible, provided you do not expect from the author what he has not got; he must, of course, be read cautiously, not simply because of mistakes he makes as a man, but especially because of what he says as a Donatist heretic.”⁷

From all the above there emerge certain patent facts. In the first place, for all these Fathers Scripture was the inspired word of God; it was the irrefragable authority, the basis of all doctrine. For all of them, too, it had a spiritual as well as a literal meaning. In each of the two great schools, the Alexandrian and the Antiochian, certain

¹ *Contra Adversarium Legis*, I. xiii. 17.

² *Ep.* xli. 2.

³ *Ep.* xciii. 14, 43.

⁴ Such writers on the *Apocalypse* as Primasius, the Ven. Bede and Beatus used Tyconius freely; see *Summa Theol.*, III. xv. 1 *ad 1m*.

⁵ *Doctr. Christiana*, III. xxx-xxxvii. 42-56.

⁶ *Regula Quinta*. See Burkitt's ed. of the *Regulæ, Texts and Studies*, III. i., 1894.

⁷ *Doctr. Christ.*, III. 43.

individuals pressed their principles too far: Origen, by holding that sometimes there was no literal sense at all, and that the allegorical or spiritual sense was really all that mattered; Theodore of Mopsuestia, by flouting all spiritual interpretations, and hence, as the Council that condemned him said, destroying the real character of the prophecies. At the same time there is a certain lack of precision in that none of them define with clearness in what the spiritual sense consists and what were its subdivisions. It is one of the many glories of St. Thomas that into this department, as into so many others, he brought order, as we shall see when we come to treat of the inspiration of the Bible and of its various "senses."

After the deaths of St. Jerome and St. Augustine the general principles of Biblical interpretation underwent little change. The unsettled state of Europe was not conducive to Biblical studies, and there are but few outstanding names. Primasius of Hadrumetum in the fifth century wrote on St. Paul's *Epistles* and on the *Apocalypse*; ¹ his commentaries are remarkable for their literal character. St. Gregory the Great, *d.* 604, has left us his *Moralia on Job* and his *Homilies on the Gospels*; in these he indulges in an allegorization which seems extreme till we remember that he wrote simply for spiritual edification and not as an exegete. His *Homilies on Ezechiel* are, however, most valuable for the principles laid down concerning the nature of prophecy; St. Thomas constantly refers to them when writing on the subject. The Ven. Bede, 673-735, has no claim to originality of thought, but he combines in a singularly pleasing fashion literal and spiritual interpretations. With Rabanus Maurus, *d.* 856, ² and Walafrid Strabo we come to the age of the glossators who, by giving us the text of the Bible with a series of extracts from the Fathers, provided the theologians of a later period with a mass of material which, as we see from St. Thomas, they used very largely. ³ To them succeeded St. Bernard,

¹ P.L. LXVIII. 413-936.

² P.L. CVII.

³ For the *Glossa Ordinaria* see P.L. CXIII-CXIV.; also *Biblia Sacra cum Glossa Ordinaria à Strabo Fuldensi*, ed. at Douay, in 6 vols., 1617. A much earlier gloss is that of St. Isidore of Seville, A.D. 632, P.L. LXXXII.

1090–1153, with his devotional commentaries, and the Canons of St. Victor, notably Hugh, 1096–1141, and Richard, *d.* 1173. These latter were the immediate predecessors of the great scholastic commentators, especially Bl. Albert the Great and his pupil St. Thomas; they, by the precision of their thought, gave a stable form to ideas and principles less clearly expressed by the earlier writers on the Bible.

In the scholastic period we have the *Postillæ*, or current notes on the text, by the Franciscan, Nicholas de Lyra, 1227–1340, and by the Dominican, Hugo à S. Charo who framed the first Biblical concordances.¹ With the Reformation period came a series of great commentators who, for the most part, followed the direction of literal exegesis, notably Cardinal Cajetan, O.P., 1469–1534, whose strictly literal commentaries are too little known; while the commentaries of Maldonatus, S.J., 1533–1583, Cornelius à Lapide, S.J., 1567–1637, and, perhaps, in a lesser degree of Calmet, O.S.B., have literally never been surpassed for clearness and precision as well as for the practical help they afford the student and the preacher.

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* Non-Catholic.

II. THE INSPIRATION OF THE BIBLE ; THE SENSES OF SCRIPTURE.

We have seen in the Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*¹ that the Bible is absolutely authoritative. It is God's letter to His people ; it contains His revelation of Himself and of the way in which we are to serve Him by true faith and practice and so win our way to an eternity with Him. Consequently it is the quarry whence all doctrinal teaching about the meaning of divine revelation must be drawn. That the Bible should have been left us for each man to in-

¹ *E.g.* p. xxx, *supra*.

terpret it at his pleasure is unthinkable. This certainly was not the practice in Jewish days;¹ it has never been so in Catholic times. Men who have elected so to treat the Bible have inevitably made shipwreck. That this must be so will be clear when we reflect that (a) the Bible nowhere tells us which are the books which enter into its composition—in other words, which books form the canon of the Bible; (b) neither does it tell us what inspiration—the criterion of canonicity—really means; and, lastly, (c) it does not provide us with any absolute criterion whereby we are to explain the many difficulties which present themselves, for example, the apparent contradictions between such statements as *I and the Father are one* (thing),² and *the Father is greater than I*.³ Hence St. Thomas insists that “the sole rule of faith is the canonic Scriptures”;⁴ and “faith holds to all the articles of faith because of one principle (*medium*), viz. the primal truth set before us in the Scriptures according to the teaching of the Church, which has sound understanding of them.”⁵ And again:

“The formal object of faith is the primal truth as made known to us in sacred Scripture and in the teaching of the Church, which proceeds from the primal truth. Consequently, whoso does not adhere—as to an infallible and divine rule—to the Church’s teaching, which proceeds from the primal truth made known to us in the Scriptures, has not the habit of faith but holds the truths of faith on some other principle than faith; we have a parallel when a person holds a conclusion without knowing the premisses that led up to it; it is clear that such a person has not got knowledge, but only opinion.”⁶

Further, “if we detract from the authority of Holy Scripture in the slightest degree, then nothing can be positively certain in our faith, which rests on Holy Scripture.”⁷

St. Thomas even extends the authority of Scripture to such scientific truths as belong to faith and morals. Thus he asks “whether prophecy is concerned with knowable conclusions,”⁸ and answers his question in the affirmative:

“We only believe the prophets in so far as they are inspired by the spirit of prophecy. But we have to give the assent of faith to what is

¹ E.g. Deut. xvii. 8-12, xxxi. 9, 19, 24-26.

² John x. 30.

³ John xiv. 28.

⁴ *Lectio vi. in Joan. xxi.*

⁵ *Summa Theol.*, 2da. 2dae. v. 3 ad 2m.

⁶ *Ibid.* in the body of the article

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *De Veritate*, XII. 2.

written in the prophetical books, even when their statements are concerned with scientific conclusions, as, for example, *He established the earth above the waters*,¹ or similar statements. Consequently, the spirit of prophecy inspires the prophets even regarding the conclusions of the sciences." He proceeds to point out that since prophecy is simply for the sake of man's salvation, "all those things which can help our salvation can be the subject-matter of prophecy, whether they are past, or future, or eternal, whether necessary truths or contingent ones. . . . And by 'necessary for salvation' I mean necessary for our instruction in the faith or for the formation of our moral character. Now many things which can be demonstrated by the sciences can be useful to this end, as, for example, the incorruptible nature of the intellect, and those marvels in the created world which compel us to admire the wisdom and power of God; consequently we find such things mentioned in Holy Scripture."

Again :

"Disciples can without difficulty take either side they please when doctors of Scripture differ—provided their opinions do not conflict with the faith or sound morals. . . . As Augustine says: 'Each one must consult the rule of faith which he has received from the plainer passages of Scripture and from the authority of the Church.'² Whoso, then, assents to the opinions of any teacher soever when these conflict with the patent testimony of Scripture, or with what is commonly held on the Church's authority, cannot be held excused from a vicious error.'³

Similarly, when opening his treatise on the days of Creation, he bases himself on St. Augustine's dictum that :

"In these questions two things have to be observed: First, that the truth of Scripture must be preserved inviolate; secondly, that since Scripture admits of different explanations, no one should so tenaciously adhere to his own view that—even when it has been proved to be false—he should still affirm it; lest unbelievers thus be led to scoff at the Scriptures and so the road to faith be closed to them."⁴

The Church has repeatedly declared that the whole Bible is inspired; but while the fact of inspiration is thus declared, its precise nature has never been the object of a definition. We may, however, describe it as an illumination of the mind touching material either acquired in the ordinary way or divinely communicated (revelation), with an accompanying impulse to commit that knowledge to writing. This impulse is maintained while the writing is continued,

¹ Ps. cxxxv. (cxxxvi.) 6.

³ *Quodl.*, III. iv. 10.

² *Doct. Christ.*, III. 2.

⁴ *Summa Theol.*, Ia. lxxviii. 1.

so that the sacred writer writes all those things, and only those things, which God bids him write.

Once more we cannot do better than take St. Thomas as our guide. “The whole purpose of Scripture,” he says, “is the knitting of man’s soul to God, the holy and the supreme. . . . But we must note that there is this difference between sacred Scripture and other sciences, that these latter emanate from human reason, while Scripture is due to the impulse of divine inspiration.”¹ Those who receive such inspiration are termed “prophets.” “The prophets of God,” he says, “are those who through the ministry of angels, as Denis says, receive from God an illumination concerning things future. Hence Cassiodorus says: ‘Prophecy is a divine inspiration declaring events with unshakable truth.’” Prophets, then, are inspired; moreover, they are “sent of God” and they bear witness to God. For their task they have a dignity that is all their own, but for its full exercise “they must also have fraternal charity and kindly compassion.”²

For St. Thomas revelation and inspiration are subdivisions of the gift of prophecy, which is one of the *gratiæ gratis datæ*, or gifts bestowed for the profit of others than their recipients. “All the gratuitous graces which are concerned with knowledge may be grouped under prophecy,” he says.³ This gift of “prophecy” is not a permanent habit, but a transiently communicated light;⁴ nor is it solely concerned with future things, though these are more particularly its object; it may extend to all knowledge—whether of the past, the present, or the future—which is beyond the natural ken of the human mind.⁵ Since the recipients of this gift do not see the essence of God but only a partial reflection of it

¹ *Proemium in Psalterium*; cf. Heb. iii. 7-11, ix. 8, x. 15-17, 2 Pet. i. 20-21; Origen, *Lib. II. on Rom.* iii. 9, Delarue, IV. 504; *Contra Celsum*, ii. 9, *Tom.* x. 1-3 and 23 in *Joan.*, P.G. XI. 310 and 382; St. Augustine, *De Gen. ad litt.*, iii. 9.

² *Proemium in Comment. in Jerem.* and note St. Jerome: “Holy Scripture tacitly shows that the prophets never speak simply out of their own minds, but by the will of God; especially is this true when it is question of things future, for these are known to God alone” (on Jer. xxviii. 10-11, P.L. xxiv. 855).

³ *Prologue to Summa Theologica*, 2da. 2da. clxxi.

⁴ *Ibid.* clxxi. 2.

⁵ *Ibid.* 3.

—seeing, as it were, "in the mirror of eternity"¹—their knowledge is not co-extensive with all truth, but precisely and only with that portion of truth which is divinely communicated to them.² Moreover, there are degrees in a man's certitude regarding the source of the knowledge he has thus received; he may have an express revelation, he may only have what may be termed a prophetic instinct³ "such as human minds unconsciously experience," to use St. Augustine's phrase.⁴ What they do thus divinely know, however, cannot be false in any sense intended by the sacred writers,⁵ yet all depends entirely on what precisely was revealed to them. They may, for instance, be shown a future event as actually present—as indeed it is to God; and then this revelation is absolutely true. On the other hand, they may be shown the relationship subsisting between cause and effect without, however, learning whether, according to the decrees of Providence, those causes are actually destined to produce that effect. This is the key to all comminative prophecies, *e.g.* the illness of Ezechias should have led to his death, the sin of Ninive to its destruction.⁶

Again, prophecy is not divination nor mere conjecture, however well founded;⁷ nor, indeed, is any natural disposition a pre-requisite to it,⁸ not even a virtuous life.⁹

Prophecy is, as St. Thomas laid down at the outset, a gift which has for its object the communication of some knowledge. Now knowledge implies two factors: reception of a truth and judgement upon it. A human teacher can supply men with truths but cannot interiorly illumine his disciple's judgement. Yet such illumination, as being the final factor in knowledge, must needs be the principal feature in prophecy. Hence a mere dream—even if sent from God—as in the cases of Pharaoh¹⁰ and Nebuchodonosor,¹¹ cannot be termed "prophecy." On the other

¹ *Summa Theol.*, 2da. 2dae. clxxiii. 1; *De Potentia*, iv. 2 ad. 27m.

² *Summa Theol.*, clxxi. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, clxxi. 5.

⁴ *De Gen. ad litt.*, ii. 17 (37), *P.L.* XXXIV. 278.

⁵ *Summa Theol.*, 2da. 2dae. clxxi. 6; for the fulness of knowledge possessed by the prophets see St. Jerome on Eph. iii. 7, on Jer. xxviii. 10-11, *P.L.* XXIV. 855.

⁶ *Ibid.*, clxxi. 6 ad 2dm.

⁷ *Ibid.*, clxxii. 1.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁰ Gen. xli.

¹¹ Dan. ii.

hand, a person who receives from God a divine illumination touching those very dreams—as was the case with Joseph and Daniel—is most truly a prophet. And, as is expressly laid down by St. Augustine: "He is especially a prophet who excels in both these things: who sees in spirit images significative of corporeal things and also understands them through the vivacity of his intellect."¹

But what precisely was shown to the prophets "in the mirror of eternity"? To begin with, no created mind can adequately grasp a revealed truth. The prophets, then, are shown sufficient for them to have material whereon to form a judgement, and they are shown precisely what God wills, and no more. When Isaias, for example, foretold the Virgin-birth of Christ, he knew the fact for certain, but how much did he grasp of its circumstances? Had he any idea when it would come to pass? Moreover, if the human mind can only inadequately apprehend a divine truth, still less can the human tongue express adequately what the mind has grasped. There must always be a gulf between the divine knowledge and the partial glimpse of it afforded to the prophet; there must be another gulf between his knowledge and his expression of it.

¹ *De Gen. ad litt.*, XII. ix., and note how explicit is St. Justin on the nature and preservation of prophecy: "There were among the Jews certain men who were prophets of God; through them the prophetic spirit published beforehand things that were to come to pass before ever they happened. And their prophecies, as they were spoken and when they were uttered, the kings who happened to be reigning among the Jews at those several times carefully preserved" (*Apol.* xxxi. ; cf. *Dial.* vii.). Note, too, Athenagoras, *Legatio*, ix.: "Moses, Isaias, Jeremias, and the other prophets who, lifted in ecstasy above the natural operations of their minds, by the impulse of the Holy Spirit uttered the things with which they were inspired, the Spirit making use of them as the flute-player breathes into a flute." See, too, St. Cyril of Alexandria on Amos i. 1, ix. 9, on Nah. ii. 6, sections 248, 341, 498 in Pusey's edition. Josephus is very emphatic concerning prophecy and its value; it was by a Divine Spirit, *Ant.* VI. xi. 5, VIII. xv. 4, IX. iii. 1; it was officially obtained through the priestly garments or ephod, VI. xiv. 2, vi. 3, xiv. 2; it was to be highly esteemed, VIII. xv. 6; David did nothing without previous consultation of the "oracle," VII. iv. 1; it meant a divine foreknowledge, VIII. viii. 5; it had ceased some two hundred years before Josephus himself wrote, III. viii. 9, presumably with the death of Hyrcanus, on whom were bestowed "the government, priesthood and prophecy," XIII. x. 7.

Further, the divine illumination of the judgement—which is the essential factor in knowledge, but which is not a revelation, though it may accompany such revelation and make it intelligible to the recipient—is for St. Thomas the essential thing in inspiration. It may be accompanied by a divine impulse to the will to speak, as in the case of Joseph. It may be accompanied by an impulse to commit to writing what may have been received either in a purely natural way—as, for instance, by study or by hearing—or in a supernatural way, that is by divine revelation. This was the case with Daniel who learned from God what the king had dreamed, and simultaneously received an illumination of his judgement, so that he understood divinely what that dream meant, while he was further impelled to commit the story to writing.

Now all these things are grouped under the heading “Prophecy” which is a glimpse into the mirror of eternity, a partial view of the reflected mind of God. Consequently in no aspect can it be false. Hence, too, those who speak under such a divine impulse are absolutely correct; similarly those who write under it are absolutely correct, whether they are writing about what they have learned in a natural fashion or about what they have learned from God. In both cases the essential and primary feature of divine knowledge, *viz.* a divinely illumined judgement, is divinely bestowed upon them.¹

We are thus enabled to distinguish three clear degrees in the divine communications: the mere material for judgement may be communicated, as to Pharaoh and Caiaphas; this is the lowest degree, and may be termed *prophetic instinct*. We have the highest degree when the same man receives from God both the material and the illumination of judgement requisite for realizing its divine import. Such men are prophets, and they receive *revelation*. The intermediate degree is present when, while the material is obtained through the ordinary human channels, the illumination of judgement comes from God. This is *inspiration*.

¹ *Summa Theol.*, 2da. 2da., clxxiii. 2. The same doctrine is given again and again, e.g. *Lect.* ii. on Rom. xii.; *Lect.* i. on 1 Cor. xiii.; *Lect.* ii. on 1 Cor. xi.; *Lect.* i. on 1 Cor. xiv.; *Lect.* vi. on 2 Cor. xii. *De Potentia*, IV. ii. 27; *De Veritate*, XII. throughout.

Thus we have a fundamental distinction of the highest value, that, namely, between inspiration and revelation; the latter is wholly divine, the former has in it a human element as well as a divine. Thus note particularly the following:

“Prophecy implies a certain obscurity and remoteness from intelligible truth; hence they are more strictly termed ‘prophets’ who see through some vision in the imagination; at the same time prophecy through the medium of intellectual vision ranks higher, provided always that it is the same truth that is revealed in both cases. If, however, an intellectual light is infused into a person, not in order that he may know certain supernatural truths, but in order that he may judge with the certitude belonging to divine truth about things which can be known by human reason, then such intellectual prophecy is inferior to that which comes through the medium of a vision in the imagination, and leads to some supernatural truth. All those who rank in the class of prophets had this kind of prophecy; in fact, they are precisely termed ‘prophets’ because they exercised the prophetic office. Hence they were wont to speak in the person of the Lord and said to the people: ‘Thus saith the Lord,’ a thing which those who wrote the ‘sacred writings’ (*Hagiographa*) never did; for many of these latter spoke, as a rule, of things which could be known by human reason, and they spoke not in the person of God, but in their own person, *yet with the assistance of a divine light.*”¹

But Biblical inspiration goes a step further. There is clearly a great difference between Joseph, for instance, divinely illumined to pass a judgement on Pharaoh’s dream, and Moses divinely illumined regarding the truth of the facts he narrates, and also divinely moved to commit those same facts to writing.

In order, then, to arrive at a clear notion as to what is meant by inspiration, we have to ask in what precisely consist this illumination and this motion. What, again, is required in order that a writing may be regarded as divinely inspired?

Is it sufficient that any particular writing should have been declared by the Church to be free from error? The Vatican Council decides in the negative.

Does Biblical inspiration mean that God *dictates* the writing? Or does it mean that God *revealed* the ideas to the writer and left him to express them in his own words? If we were to endorse the latter explanation we should have

¹ *Summa Theol.*, 2da. 2dae., clxxiv. 2 ad 3m.

to allow that every inspired writer was the recipient of a revelation, whereas we have seen that there is all the difference in the world between inspiration and revelation. But before we answer these two questions let us examine the decrees of the three Councils of Florence, Trent, and the Vatican.

In declaring the doctrine of inspiration these Councils make use of a definite formula which must necessarily lie at the base of any investigation into the nature of inspiration. Thus in the Decree of Union promulgated by the Council of Florence we read :

"The Holy Roman Catholic Church . . . confesses the same God to be the *Author* of the Old and the New Testaments . . . since by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit the holy men of both Testaments . . . have spoken."

The same formula occurs in the Tridentine Decree ; the Church declares that she receives—

"All the books of both Testaments, the Old and the New, since the one God is the *Author* of both."

The Vatican Council speaks still more explicitly :

"The Church holds these books as sacred and canonical, not because, having been composed by human industry, they were afterwards approved by her authority, nor merely because they contain revelation without error, but because, having been written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, they have God for their *Author*."

How thoroughly this doctrine is in accordance with patristic teaching may be gauged by such passages as the following : "God, the King, sent His divine Scriptures to men—like letters."¹ So, too, St. Chrysostom : "What the Scriptures say, the Master said"; and, again : "There is nothing idle in Scripture, nothing to be passed over. . . . We must scrutinize every word of it carefully, for its every word is spoken by the Holy Spirit ; there is no superfluous word in it."² And once more : "The mouth whereby God speaks is God's mouth ; for just as my mouth is the mouth of my soul, though my soul has no mouth, so the mouth of the prophets is God's mouth."³

¹ St. Macarius, *Hom.* xxxix.

² *Hom.* xxxvi. in *Joan.*

³ *Hom.* xix. in *Acts.*

We notice at once that in all three Councils the books are said to have God as their Author because they are inspired; hence to arrive at any valid idea of inspiration we must realize clearly what is meant by “authorship.” Further, though God is here spoken of as the “Author,” the sacred writers, too, are always spoken of as “authors.” St. Luke, for instance, is the “author” of the *Third Gospel* and the *Acts*. Consequently the essentials of “authorship” must be safeguarded both for God and for the individual sacred writers. But how can two be the authors of one and the same work? Joint-authorship, such as that with which we are familiar in the case of Besant and Rice, for example, will not satisfy the conditions; for Besant was in no sense the author of the portions which Rice wrote. Thus if we wish to safeguard the full title of “author” to both God and the individual sacred writers, we must not conceive of the latter as merely co-operating with God, we must not picture God and the sacred writers as simply working harmoniously together, for thus we should still have portions which were due to the human authors, while neither God nor the human writers could be said to be the “authors” of the resulting whole. But there is in nature one case in which two causes so co-operate that the resulting work is attributable wholly to each of the two causes—when, namely, one is the instrumental, the other the principal, cause.

Instrumental Causality.—When we use instruments, we use them according to their nature; in other words, we do not do violence to them. Moreover, we use instruments precisely because of certain inherent qualities they possess; if they had them not we should not use them. Further, from an instrument properly applied there flows an effect which it is utterly beyond the power of the instrument alone to produce. My razor *cuts*; it does not *shave*. Shaving is a result flowing from the combined action of my brain and my wrist, as well as of the razor. Yet the whole effect flows from both myself and the razor. If the razor is a poor one, the effect is bad; if it is in good condition and yet only poor results are achieved, this is due to my lack of skill. If, on the other hand, my skill were such that I could not only use a razor but could actually make one, and was

in a position to choose the finest steel and temper it precisely for my own purposes, then I should stand a good chance of securing results as nearly perfect as possible.

If it were possible to go still further and secure an instrument which was actually part of myself, it would then act, as it were spontaneously, and would do exactly what I want and in the way I want. We have an instance of this in the human hand. We have the most perfect instance of all in the sacred humanity assumed by the Son of God as the instrument whereby He would work out our redemption. Yet even that humanity was finite, and could not adequately express the mind of the Son of God who wielded it as an instrument.

Now when two causes combine to produce an effect—the one as applying, the other as applied; the one as moving, the other as moved; the one as planning and designing, the other as executing and carrying into effect—there is a mutual dependence between them. But, be it noted, it is not that each contributes its share; there is not in the effect produced anything which belongs to the one cause and not to the other; the whole is due to each cause, but in different senses. It is due to the principal cause as designing and applying, to the instrumental cause as carrying out the design and as applied by the principal cause for that purpose. This will be clear from a familiar example. When we write with a pen and ink we have a whole series of causes and effects each subordinated to the other. The brain moves the hand, the hand the pen, the pen regulates the flow of ink, the ink marks the paper, the ultimate effect—intended by the brain from the outset—is the intelligible writing on the paper.

But, if we consider further, there is nothing in that writing which is not due to the pen. Neither is there anything in it which is not due to the brain from which, in some mysterious way, there has flowed a power transmitted by the arm, the hand, the pen, and the ink to the paper. Further, the more complete the harmony between the various agents here employed, the more completely will the writing express what the brain directed. And if we were skilful in making pens we could fashion them so delicately as to produce with their aid the most delicate specimens of handwriting. Now instead of the brain put

Almighty God, and instead of the pen put one of the sacred writers, St. Luke for example. He is no chance pen, picked up, so to speak. On the contrary, he is a perfectly prepared instrument, prepared from eternity by God for the particular work for which He destined him, namely the writing of the *Third Gospel*. But when the fitting time comes God moves him to write, and at the same time illumines his intellect so that he writes under the influence of a divine light directing, stimulating, and, if need be, correcting, his judgement as he shapes his materials, so that he only commits to writing what God wills and all that God wills.

And there is nothing automatic about this—it is here that the analogy of the pen fails; for St. Luke is still Luke “the beloved physician”; he is still the polished Greek, the friend, the fellow-traveller, the fellow-prisoner of St. Paul. He has to work for his information. He may not, probably did not, have the remotest idea that God was inspiring him. He may receive no revelation whatsoever; his materials may be all acquired by purely human means, and it is only his human judgement which requires divine illumination. The difference between him and the pen in our analogy is that Luke is free to pick and choose, though divinely guided all the time. The similarity between him and the pen is that just as we choose a pen precisely because it is fine or thick, so God has chosen Luke because he has just the qualities which fit him to write the Gospel; and he possesses those precise qualities because God equipped him with them for that very purpose. The difference between the brain in the analogy and God in the actuality is that the brain could not prepare its instruments, while God chooses an instrument just because He has perfectly prepared it.

But what right have we to say that the relation between God and the inspired writer is precisely that of principal cause to instrumental cause? First of all because, as the above argument will have shown us, only thus can we explain that character of “author” which must be safeguarded in its entirety to both God and the individual writer. And secondly, because in the Encyclical *Providentissimus* we see that Leo XIII. has used this very expression to designate the relationship of the inspirer and the inspired, “the Holy Ghost employed these men as His *instruments*.”

But this explanation, if rightly apprehended, will show us how impossible it is to regard the sacred Scriptures as *dictated* by God. He alone would be the author in that case, and even then He would not be the author of the mechanical act of writing. It will also appear how futile it is to suppose that the ideas are God's while the way of expressing them is left to the human author; for then neither God nor the writer could be regarded as the author of the whole.

Further still, this doctrine of instrumental causality is, as we shall show later, the real key to the various "senses" of Scripture.

St. Thomas himself, however, acknowledges that this doctrine of instrumental causality is difficult to grasp. "To some it seems hard," he says, "to understand how natural effects can be attributed to God and to a natural agent. Yet the difficulties alleged are not real when we consider the following principles:

"In every agent we have to consider two things: The thing that acts and the power by which it acts—fire, for instance, warms by heat. Now the power of an inferior agent depends on the power of the superior agent, in that the latter either actually bestows on the inferior the power by which the latter acts, or preserves that power, or applies it so that it acts. Thus a workman applies an instrument for the production of its own proper effect, yet he does not confer on that instrument the power whereby it acts, nor does he preserve that power in being; he merely sets it in motion.

"Consequently the action of an inferior agent not only flows from it by its own proper power, but by the power of *all* the preceding agents; for it acts in virtue of them *all*. And just as the lowest instrument in the scale is found to be immediately active, so, too, the power of the first agent in the series is found to be immediately active for the production of its effect. For the power of the lowest agent is not capable of producing this effect of itself, but only in virtue of the agent immediately above it in the scale. So, too, the power of this latter acts in virtue of the power of the one above it. Thus the power of the supreme agent in the series is found to be of itself productive of the effect, as though it were its immediate cause. This is evident in the principles of demonstrations where the first are immediate in effect.

"Consequently, just as there is nothing incongruous in the notion that one action should flow from a particular agent and its power, so there is nothing incongruous in the idea that one and the same effect should be produced by an inferior agent and by God, immediately by both, though in different ways."¹

¹ *Contra Gentes*, III. lxx.

As for the difficulty that this seems to make a man a mere mechanical instrument :

“That argument is based on the notion of an instrument whose function it is to be acted on, not to act. But man is not an instrument of that sort ; he is so acted on by the Holy Spirit that he himself also acts, since he has free will.”¹

In the same sense he quotes, apropos of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the words of Aristotle :

“Those who are moved by a divine instinct do not need to take counsel of their reason, but must follow their interior instinct, since they are moved by a better principle, better, namely, than human reason.”²

This doctrine touching the real nature of instrumental action is stated many times by St. Thomas ; it is a fundamental principle of his philosophy, and therefore of his theology. But he sets it out with peculiar insistence when treating of another gratuitous grace, namely the gift of working miracles. Men and angels, he says—

“Act as the instruments of the divine power . . . not, indeed, as though this power resided in them habitually . . . rather is this power of co-operation with God in working miracles comparable to the action of imperfect ‘forms,’ which are only there so long as the principal agent is present, just as the light is in the air and movement in an instrument. . . . It is the same with the grace of prophecy, which is bestowed for the sake of supernatural knowledge ; by its means the prophet cannot prophesy when he likes, but only when the spirit of prophecy touches his heart.”³

That God can, and of necessity does, move the human will to its acts is another fundamental principle with St. Thomas ; the whole of his doctrine on grace and predestination depends on it. The *locus classicus* for this doctrine is, of course, the following :

“It is no part of divine Providence to destroy, but to preserve the nature of things. Hence He moves all things according to their condition, so that from necessary causes there follow—owing to the divine motion—necessary effects, and from contingent causes follow contingent effects. Since, then, the will is an active principle not of its nature determined to one of two alternatives, God so moves it as

¹ *Summa Theol.*, 1a. 2dae., lxviii. iii. ad 2m.

² *Ibid.* 1a. 2dae., lxviii. i.

³ *De Potentia*, VI. iv.

not to determine it of necessity to one of these, but its movement remains contingent and not necessary." ¹

To this we may add :

"The first cause is more potent in the production of an effect than the second ; consequently, whatever perfection is in that effect, it is to be referred principally to the first cause ; while whatever defect is there is referable to the second cause, for it does not act with such efficacy as the first cause." ²

And again :

"God works perfectly as the first cause ; yet the operation of nature as a secondary cause is requisite. None the less, God could produce nature's effects without the intervention of nature ; He wishes, however, to act through the medium of nature for the preservation of harmony in things." ³

Among the *Opera* of St. Thomas occur two commentaries on the *Canticle of Canticles*.⁴ The second, beginning with the words *Sonet vox tua*, is, according to Mandonnet,⁵ the only one which can be authentic, and even now it is attributed to Giles of Rome.⁶ In the *Preface* we read :

"We need not concern ourselves about the instrumental cause (of this *Canticle*) ; for as far as the doctrine is concerned these causes are like instruments, like the writer's pen, as the Psalmist puts it (Ps. xlv.) : *My tongue is as the pen of the scribe writing swiftly*. Hence, just as it would be somewhat superfluous when discussing who was the author of a book to ask with what kind of pen he wrote, so, too, it would seem superfluous to trouble much about the instrumental causes of Scripture. For, provided it is an established truth that the book in question proceeds from the Holy Spirit, we need not enquire too closely as to who the other author was."

Since the inspiration of Scripture is closely bound up with the question of the various senses attaching to the Biblical narrative we will deal here with the senses of Scripture and then return to the doctrine of inspiration as involved in it and affording the key to its right understanding.

¹ *Summa Theol.*, Ia. 2dae., x. iv.

² *De Potentia*, III. vii. ad 15m.

³ *Ibid.* ad 16m.

⁴ *Ed. Venet.*, I. 489.

⁵ *Bibliographie Thomiste*, xviii., 1921.

⁶ *Ibid.* Vrede, *Die beiden dem hl. Thomas von Aquin zugeschriebenen Kommentare zum Hohen Liede*, Berlin, 1903.

The Senses of Sacred Scripture.

The “sense” of Scripture is that signified by the *words* or *persons and things* concerned; thus the *literal* sense is that of the words; the *spiritual* or *mystical* sense is that conveyed by the *persons* or *things* as typical or figurative of some thing or some person other than themselves. The literal sense is twofold: the properly or strictly literal, that is the historical sense; and the less strictly literal sense, namely the metaphorical or parabolical sense. The spiritual or mystical sense is twofold according as (a) the persons or things indicate to us what we are to *do*, or, in other words, convey to us moral teaching (this is sometimes called the “tropological” sense);¹ (b) according as these persons or things tell us by their lives or actions what we are to *believe*; and this again may be subdivided: when the Old Testament points us to Christ and the Church, that is to the New Testament era, we have the “allegorical” sense; when either the Old or the New Testament points out to us the rewards of faith or the Kingdom of Heaven whither we are bound to tend, we have the “anagogical” sense.

These various “senses” are summed up in the old doggerel verses:

“*littera gesta docet; quid credas allegoria.
moralis quid agas; quo tendis anagogia.*”

A rough rendering would be:

“The *letter* tells of the *deeds*; the *allegory* what we are to *believe*.
The *moral* what we are to *do*; the *anagogical* whither we are
to *tend*.”

The above are not four “senses,” but two, the literal and the spiritual, the latter being subdivided into three, as we have said above. The “accommodated” sense is not really a “sense” of Scripture, since it is not intended by the divine Author; it consists in the application of certain passages of Holy Scripture, regardless of the context in which they are found, to particular doctrines which find

¹ St. Jerome, *Ep.* cxx. 12; cf. *Ep.* liii. 8 on Eph. iii. 7, Gal. iii. 3, Eccles. ii.; *P.L.* XXIII. 1029 and 1033.

fitting expression in that form of words; thus, "Man shall come to a deep heart and God shall be exalted"¹ may be taken as expressing certain aspects of devotion to the Sacred Heart, but we have no right to say that this meaning was ever intended by the Holy Spirit. At the same time, many of these accommodations receive a certain ecclesiastical sanction from their use in the Liturgy or in the Divine Office; none the less, they remain accommodations and no more.² We must not, however, confuse the accommodated sense with the strictly *typical* sense, for since this latter is that signified by the persons or things in Holy Scripture, it will follow that all that is said of them has a typical signification. Thus the spouse in *Canticles* is typical of our Blessed Lady; hence, too, the words, "Et macula non est in te," are not merely accommodated to her, they belong to the real typical sense.³

It will be clear that all the senses given above are not to be found in every passage of the Bible; we cannot even say that every passage has a spiritual sense at all, though it probably has. As a good example of all four senses we may take the word "Jerusalem"; literally it means the city, spiritually it means (a) allegorically, the militant Church; (b) morally, the just soul; (c) anagogically, the Church triumphant.

The *literal sense* :

(a) the spiritual sense is founded upon it and always proceeds from it.

(b) St. Augustine divides the literal sense into the historical, ætiological, and analogical; but these are not three distinct kinds of literal senses so much as three different ways in which the literal sense is expressed; thus *history* means the mere expression of facts; *ætiology*—or the "science of causes"—means the expression of the causes which motive certain facts, for example the hardness of their hearts was the reason for permitting divorce to the Jews of

¹ Ps. lxiii. 7-8.

² See *American Ecclesiastical Record*, September, 1923, for the use of the accommodated sense in sermons.

³ For St. Thomas' use of such "accommodations" see, for example, his applications of Job xxxviii. 17 and Ps. cxl. 10, when commenting on John i. 14, *Lectio* vii. in Joan. i. ed., Venice iii. 482.

old;¹ *analogy* consists in supporting one passage of Scripture by another.

(c) St. Augustine and St. Thomas hold that it is possible to have a manifold literal sense, *i.e.* that one and the same passage can, even literally, have [several distinct meanings. “The literal sense,” says St. Thomas, “is that which the author intends; since, then, the Author of the Bible is God, who simultaneously understands all things, there is nothing repugnant in the supposition, as St. Augustine says,² that Scripture may have many literal meanings in one phrase.”³ We have an example of this in “Who shall declare His generation?”⁴ a passage which is understood both of the eternal generation of Christ and of His birth of the Blessed Virgin.

“It is one of the glories of the Bible,” says St. Thomas, “that it can enshrine many meanings in a single passage. It thus meets the needs of different minds, and each man marvels to find in the divine Scriptures truths which he has himself thought out. This is helpful, too, in defending the Bible against unbelievers, since if some meaning which a person wants to read in Scripture seems to him false, you can always appeal to some other meaning that it may have. Hence it is not absurd to suppose that there was divinely granted to Moses and the other Biblical authors a knowledge of various truths which men could know, and that they enshrined these in a single literal form of expression, with the result that each of these meanings was the sense intended by the author. Further still, if interpreters of Scripture read true meanings into the letter of the text which the author did not mean, there can be no doubt but that the Holy Spirit, who is the principal author of Holy Scripture, so understood it. Consequently, every truth which can—with due regard to the context—be read into Scripture is its meaning.”⁵

(d) Under the literal sense in its wider or less strict signification we must group metaphors, symbols, and parables; thus “the Lion of Juda hath conquered” is a metaphor, but belongs of course to the literal sense; as significative of Christ it belongs to the typical, or figurative, or mystical sense. Similarly, symbolical things the

¹ Matt. xix. 8.

² *Confess.* xii. 31.

³ *Summa Theol.*, I., qu. i, art. 10.

⁴ Isa. liii. 8. Note Tertullian: “The Holy Spirit, in His greatness, foresaw all such interpretations as these”—he is speaking of false views of the resurrection of the body, *de Resurrectione Carnis*, xxiv.

⁵ *De Potentia*, IV. i. ; *cp. Summa Theol.*, I., qu. i. 10.

whole meaning of which is prefigurative, for example the goat, the ram, the leopard, etc., in *Daniel*, come under the literal sense, though prefigurative of Christ. The same must be said of our Lord's parables.

The *spiritual sense* :

(a) It is essentially founded on the literal sense.

(b) Just as men can adapt certain things to signify other things—the letters of the alphabet, for example, are used to signify certain sounds—so also can God, since all things are subject to His providence, make a certain series of things significative of other things. In fact, the persons and events which figure in the Bible are really of no interest to us except as significative of divine truths (see the use which St. Paul makes of the story of Abraham, Sara, and Agar).¹

(c) That such a "spiritual" sense is to be found in Scripture is clear from the use which St. John, *You shall not break a bone of him*,² makes of the Old Testament.³ Various terms are used by Holy Scripture for things or persons thus divinely significative; St. Paul calls them "types," "examples," "shadows," "allegories," "parables."⁴ The things thus prefigured are termed "antitypes."⁵

(d) The use of this spiritual sense has to be carefully safeguarded; for since it is the meaning which God, and not man, has attached to things or persons, we can only be certain that particular passages have a spiritual signification from the fact that this signification is presented to us elsewhere in the literal sense of a passage, or because it is directly taught us by the infallible Church. Thus the Church supplanted the synagogue, as is declared throughout the New Testament; it is legitimate, then, to see this supplanting prefigured in Jacob's supplanting of Esau and his final preference of Ephraim over Manasses.⁶

¹ Gal. iv.

² xix. 36.

³ Exod. xii. 46, Num. ix. 12.

⁴ Rom. v. 14; 1 Cor. x. 6; Gal. iv. 24; Heb. viii. 5, ix. 9.

⁵ 1 Pet. iii. 21.

⁶ St. Jerome says: "Those who follow the spiritual sense are 'in the flesh' in the sense that they have before them the same literal text as the Jews, but they do not 'war according to the flesh,' for from the flesh they pass to the spirit. When, then, you see a person who, after passing from heathenism, puts his hand to the plough of Christ, and then, under the guidance of some prudent teacher, comes through

If we now return to St. Thomas' doctrine on inspiration, on instrumental causality, and on the senses of Scripture, we shall see how mutually dependent they are. When he is discussing the possibility of Scripture possessing a spiritual as well as a literal sense, he puts this difficulty: "No meaning drawn from the wording of Scripture other than what the writer meant can be termed its real meaning, for the author of any portion of Scripture could only have had one meaning in mind, since, as the philosopher says: 'No one can mean several things at once.'" His reply is significant:

"I reply that the principal author of Holy Scripture is the Holy Spirit, who in any one expression of Scripture meant far more than any expositor can expound or discover. At the same time there is nothing repugnant in the notion that man, who is the instrumental cause of Holy Scripture, should in one expression mean several things. For the prophets, as St. Jerome says on *Osee*, so spoke of present facts as to intend thereby to signify future things. Consequently it is not impossible to mean several things at once, when, that is, one is a figure of another."¹

The point immediately concerning us is that here St. Thomas positively declares that the inspired writers are the instrumental causes which God applies. When, then, God inspires, that is illumines a man's judgement on certain things which have been either divinely told him or acquired in a natural fashion, and at the same time moves him to commit to writing those facts on which his judgement has thus been divinely illumined, He is using men as His instruments, that is, He is using them precisely because of certain qualities they possess, and in accordance with those qualities. He is doing no violence to natures which He has Himself created. And the very qualities they possess they owe to Him. Why did He bestow

the law to the Gospel, and this with such clear vision that all the things he finds written in the law about the Sabbath, the unleavened bread, circumcision, and sacrifices, he interprets in a sense worthy of God—when you find one who has done this and yet, misled by some Jew, surrendering what he now dubs 'the shadowy depths of allegory,' and deciding that the Scriptures are to be interpreted as they are written—to such an one you can say: 'Are you so foolish as to end in the letter when you began in the spirit?' " (on Gal. iii. 3).

¹ *Quodl.*, VII. 14 *ad 5m.*

them? Why, for example, did He make Isaias a poet, a diplomat if you will, a courtier, a member of the royal stock? Why did He make Osee a farmer, with the mind and outlook of a farmer? Surely because He was doing what we cannot do save inadequately, *viz.* creating from eternity instruments whom, when the due time came, He would move and apply for the production of a certain work which He had, also from eternity, designed to produce. When that time came He illumined the judgement of a poet or a farmer, as the case may be, precisely because he was such; and he was such because from eternity God planned him to be such for the production of that particular book of the Bible. Still further: He moves the will of each according to the nature He has given them. He has nothing to change or correct. Nothing in their work will require His revision. If the writer's nature is artistic the result will be a word-picture, as in the case of St. Luke's *Gospel*; if he is a Levite with certain prepossessions, the result—and it is God's result—will be *Chronicles*.

Now it will be clear that in all this two minds are at work: the mind of God and the mind of the human instrument He employs. Each will be working to the fullness of its capacity, the one as applying, the other as applied. The result must necessarily be that the outcome is something far more than Isaias, Osee, or Luke, for example, could have produced, precisely as the result of my skilled application of my razor is something far transcending what the razor alone could have produced. Apart from any revelation or inspiration they received, these three writers could have thought and written precisely as they did, for they only wrote—even under divine inspiration—according to their respective natures. But in their writings there would have been something lacking. What? Something akin to that which is transiently communicated to my razor when I am actually using it, something which stamps the ultimate effect with the imprint of reason. Now here it is question of the divine mind and the divine truth. And it is this that is stamped upon Holy Scripture by the fact that the human writers are God's instruments. Without His inspiration they would have produced writings; as applied by Him they produce *sacred* writings. As unassisted writers

they would have written things that were true as far as the character of each writer would allow; as inspired writers they produce writings which are *divinely* true.¹

Yet further: there are, as we said, two minds at work. And though one is subordinate to the other it is in no sense suppressed. The human writer will necessarily have his views, his preoccupations, even his prejudices. He will necessarily speak from the standpoint of his own age and his own upbringing. Where these conflict with the truth that God wants to bring out they will not be allowed to come into play. But short of that the human character of the writer will appear at every turn. It is this that makes the transition so extraordinary when we pass, for instance, from Isaias to Jeremias or Ezechiel.

There are two minds at work: the human and the divine. Consequently there are two meanings: what God meant and what the human writer meant. Not that these are two independent or conflicting meanings, for where one mind is subordinate to another there can be no conflict. But here we must let St. Thomas speak for himself, as his doctrine on the point is the basis of all his exegetical work:

“The Author of Holy Scripture is God, in whose power it is to attach a meaning not merely to words—as, indeed, man can do—but also to things. Hence it is that, whereas in all sciences words have a significance, it is the peculiar property of this science (revelation) that the actual things signified by the words have themselves a further significance.

“Consequently the first signification, that, namely, whereby the words used signify things, belongs to the primary sense, that is the historical or literal sense. But that meaning whereby the things signified by the words do themselves further signify other things is termed the spiritual sense; and this is based upon the literal sense and presupposes it.”²

¹ St. Thomas urges against his doctrine Aristotle's principle that “the first cause has more effect on the thing produced by the second cause than that second cause itself” (*De Causis*, Prop. i.), and that a legitimate conclusion would be that these secondary causes are thus deprived of liberty. But he replies: “The first cause is said to have more influence than the second, inasmuch as its efficiency is more intimate and permanent in the effect than is that of the secondary cause. At the same time the resulting effect is more akin to the second cause, since it is through its means that the act of the first cause is determined to that particular effect” (*De Veritate*, V. ix. *ad 10m.*).

² So Tertullian: “It is more in accordance with the religious frame

"Now, this spiritual sense has a threefold division. For, as the Apostle says,¹ the old law is a figure of the new, and the new law itself is, as Denis says,² a figure of future glory. In the new law, too, those things which are done by our Head are signs of what we also ought to do.

"According, then, as those things which pertain to the old law signify the things of the new law, we have the *allegorical* sense. And according as those things which were done in Christ—or in the things which were types of Christ—are signs of the things which we ourselves ought to do, so we have the *moral* sense. Finally, according as they signify those things which concern eternal glory, we have the *anagogic* sense.

"The literal sense is that which the author intends; now the Author of Scripture is God, who simultaneously comprehends all things in His intellect; consequently there is no incongruity in holding, as Augustine says,³ that even according to the literal sense there may be many meanings in one literal passage of Scripture."

And when it is urged that this multiplicity of "senses"—the historical or literal, the allegorical, tropological or moral, and the anagogical, or the path to heaven—is likely to beget confusion, St. Thomas is content to deny this on the ground that—

"All those 'senses' are based on one, the literal; on the literal sense alone can we base arguments, and not on things which are expressed in allegorical fashion, as Augustine says.⁴ Nor is this derogatory to Scripture, for nothing necessary to faith is given under the spiritual sense without its being manifestly stated elsewhere under the literal sense."

He further points out that the literal sense itself is twofold. For parabolic expressions come under the literal sense.

"Words can signify something directly or figuratively, for the literal sense here is not the figure of speech itself, but the thing figured. Thus when Scripture speaks of the arm of God it does not literally mean that God has bodily members of this kind, but it means that which is signified by such members, *viz.* operative power."⁵

of mind to maintain the truth on the authority of a literal interpretation" (*De Resurrectione Carnis*, xxx.).

¹ Heb. x. i.

² *De Cœlesti Hierarchia*, V. i.

³ *Confess.* XII. xviii-xxxii.; *Doctr. Christ.* III. ii. (2); *De Gen. ad litt.*, *Opus Imperf.*, I. i.

⁴ "What impudent folly for a man to interpret in his own favour some allegorical remark unless he can point to manifest testimonies in the light of which obscure passages may be cleared up!" (*Ep.* xciii. 24).

⁵ *Summa Theol.*, I. ia. x.

This tabulation of the “senses” of Scripture is the key to the whole of St. Thomas’ exegetical work. Thus in the *Proemium* to his commentary on *Lamentations* he says:

“The verbal adornments of this book make it obscure; it is written in metrical fashion and decked out with rhetorical devices. Further, the various figures of speech made use of render it obscure, as is the case with the rest of the prophetic books. It is the task of sacred expositors to unfold these wrappings of the Holy Spirit, for, as Augustine says, the sacred Scriptures are expounded by the same Spirit that wrote them.” He then points out that this lament over Jerusalem can be explained either literally, or according to the moral, or according to the allegorical sense. Again, when discussing whether the *Canticum of Canticles* can be expounded of the Church addressing Christ, he says: “At times the actual letter seems opposed to this. Still, so far as such exposition does not wander from the truths of faith, we need not repudiate it; for in the sacred page we have not merely the literal sense, which runs continuously, but also the mystical sense which need not be continuous.”¹

We have seen the extravagant lengths to which the search for the deeper or really “spiritual” meaning of Holy Scripture was carried by the Alexandrian school, notably in the persons of Clement and Origen. The latter even went so far as to deny the necessity of any literal sense at all in certain passages; the Antiochian school of exegesis was little else than a protest against such perverted principles of interpretation. The *via media* was discovered by such giants as Chrysostom, Jerome, and Augustine. They, while attaching immense, indeed primary, importance to the literal sense, yet never repudiated the mystical interpretation. Some passages of Scripture have only a literal sense, says St. Augustine,² and St. Thomas endorses this.³ Yet what more wonderful example of mystical interpretation can you have than St. Augustine’s marvellous parallel between Benjamin and St. Paul—the “*lupus rapax*”?⁴

This same *via media* was followed by St. Thomas. With him the letter comes first. Thus Christ said to Satan, *Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God*. Was He simply refuting him by quoting Scripture to him? Or was He insinuating

¹ *Expositio altera in Canticum, Proemium*; cp. ad Joan. Vercellensem, 18, *Quodlibet*, xii. 26, and Bl. Albert the Great on Zach. iv. 3, ed. Vives, vol. xix. 542.

² *De Genesi ad litt.*, I.

³ *Quodl.*, VII. 15, *Sed contra*.

⁴ *Sermo xiv. de Sanctis*, i.e. *Sermo cclxxix.*, P.L. XXXVIII. 1275.

that He Himself was God? "The former opinion," remarks St. Thomas, "is the more literal."¹ Similarly, when dealing at great length with the visit of the Magi, he expounds fully the literal sense, but then adds brief mystical considerations.² Again, when asking whether all Christ's temptations were in the desert, he remarks: "The point is that it does not say so."³ Once more: on Satan's taking Christ up on to the temple: Solomon had made three storeys to the temple; to which was Christ taken up? It matters not, he answers. "What is certain is that He did go up."⁴ Similarly on Ezechiel's being taken in vision to Jerusalem: "It is clear that things which are narrated simply as having taken place must equally simply be understood as having so taken place."⁵

St. Thomas, then, does not have recourse to the "spiritual" sense merely because he cannot understand the letter, as unfortunately did Origen. For St. Thomas the literal sense is the sole foundation of dogma. Hence it is that his commentaries on the epistles of St. Paul stand unrivalled for the minuteness with which the intricacies of the text are unravelled. We venture to say that in this respect St. Chrysostom's homilies on *Romans* and St. Thomas' commentary on the same epistle are of greater value for a real understanding of St. Paul's teaching than any commentaries since written. It is Erasmus who says of St. Thomas:

"To my thinking, no recent theologian has shown an equal diligence, a saner judgement, a more solid erudition. It is to be regretted that he was not equipped with a knowledge of languages and other aids to Biblical studies, since he made such wonderful use of the means which at that period were at his disposal."⁶

Nothing, then, could be more explicit than St. Thomas teaching on the place of allegory and metaphor in Holy Scripture. These forms of speech are necessary because of our human nature which instinctively argues from the known to the unknown, from the sensible to the spiritual.

¹ *Comment. on Matt.* iv.

² *Ibid.* ii.

³ *Ibid.* iv.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *De Potentia*, VI. vii. ; ix. *ad* 8m. ; for his constant application of these principles see *Summa Theol.*, I-II. Qu. c-cii.

⁶ *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, i. 2.

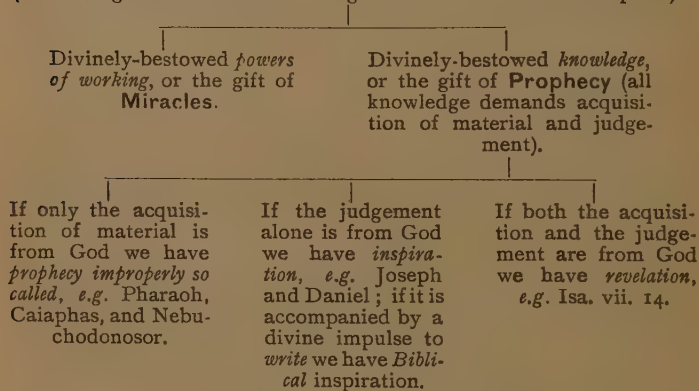
But allegories and metaphors are not used in the Bible as poets use them ; for these make use of tropes and figures of speech precisely because they give pleasure, whereas Holy Scripture is simply seeking to present to us divine truths in a fashion which shall best secure our apprehension of them.

"The light of divine revelation is not obscured by the sensible images in which it is enwrapped, but abides in its own truth. For these figures of speech are used so as to assist the mind that receives revelation ; it is not meant simply to abide in such images, but to be uplifted to the knowledge of intelligible truths ; also that through those who are the recipients of revelation others may receive fitting instruction concerning it. Hence it is that what is told in metaphorical guise in one place in Scripture is set forth more explicitly in other places. Moreover this very veiling of the truth in figures of speech is profitable for the exercising of studious minds, and is a safeguard against the gibes of unbelievers."¹

The following tables may serve to summarize what has been said :

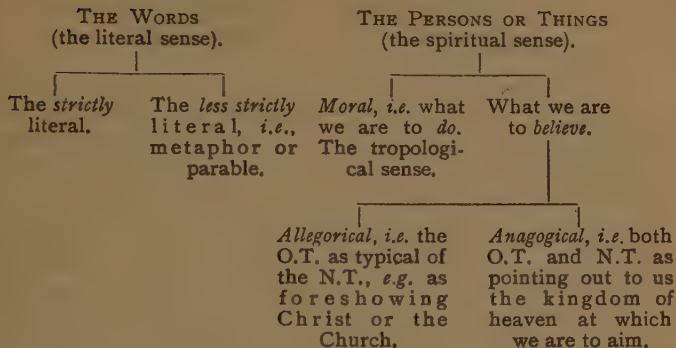
GRATIÆ GRATIS DATÆ

(i.e. those graces bestowed for the good of others than the recipient).



¹ *Summa Theol.*, Ia. i. 9 : cf. *Prol. to Comment. on Lamentations*, also to the second *Comment. on Canticles*.

THE SENSES OF SCRIPTURE.



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III. OF THE BIBLICAL COMMISSION AND ASSENT TO ITS DECISIONS.

On November 18, 1907, Pius X. published a *Motu Proprio : Præstantia S. Scripturæ*, in which, after recapitulating the motives which had led Leo XIII. to publish the Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*, he summarized as follows the same Pontiff's reasons for instituting the Biblical Commission :

"In his Apostolic Brief *Vigilantiæ studiiq; memores*, published on November 26, 1902, our predecessor instituted the Pontifical Council or Biblical Commission consisting of certain Cardinals of Holy Church conspicuous for learning and prudence, and assisted by certain consultants, namely priests chosen from among men versed in theology and Biblical knowledge, of different nationalities, differing, too, in their exegetical methods and turn of mind. For the Supreme Pontiff felt that it would be a gain to studies and in harmony with the times if on that council there were room for free statement and discussion of opinions ; if, too, no decision should be arrived at by their Eminences without previous full discussion of the arguments on either side, and if everything were done to secure that the precise state of the question on any Biblical problem should be set out in the clearest fashion. Finally, when all this had been done, their decisions were to be submitted to the Supreme Pontiff for approval and then published.

"After protracted discussion and careful examination certain decisions have been arrived at by the aforesaid Pontifical Biblical Commission which are intended to forward Biblical studies and provide practical rules for their guidance. But it is quite clear that there are men who, through excessive attachment to opinions and methods tainted by dangerous modern notions, and through a craze for a wholly false kind of liberty—a liberty which is assuredly only unrestrained licence, and which proves itself remarkably fruitful in notions harmful to the faith—have not accepted, nor will accept, these decisions, although approved by the Pope.

"Consequently we feel bound to declare and pronounce what we do here and now declare and pronounce, namely, that all are bound in conscience to submit to the decisions of the Pontifical Biblical Commission which concern doctrine,¹ both those that have already appeared and those which may appear henceforth, precisely in the same way as they are bound to submit to decrees of the Sacred Congregations when approved by the Pope ; further, none who attack these decisions, whether in word or writing, can escape the guilt of deliberate disobedience and rashness, and even that of grave sin ; this, too, in addition

¹ A doctrinal decision is not one the main purport of which is to command or prohibit, but to declare that this or that proposition is theologically sound or the reverse. See Ward, *The Authority of Doctrinal Decisions*, p. 118, note.

to the scandal they may have caused and the other offences they may have been guilty of before God by, as often happens, their rash and erroneous pronouncements.”]

To these decisions, then, we have to give our adherence ; we have to assent to, to accept, what they say. “in the same way as we are bound to submit to decrees of the Sacred Congregations when approved by the Pope.”

To assent to a statement is to adhere to it ; such adhesion may arise from the evident character of the truth stated, a proposition of Euclid, for example ; it may arise from the authority of the person proposing it ; scientific truths like the weight of the sun or its distance from us are instances in point. If there is discernible gain in assenting we are said to “*consent*,” since besides truth appealing to the intellect there is now an element of good appealing to the will ; the combined action of intellect and will is “*consent*.” This gain may consist in being in agreement with general opinion ; it may also consist in the obedience to God implied in such assent. Further, assent due to authority will be qualified by the nature of the latter ; “*consent*” will be human or divine according as human or divine gain is discernible in so assenting.

Now the Biblical Commission is not a Roman Congregation ; it is a commission which examines and answers certain questions ; it has no disciplinary powers ; it cannot enforce its decisions by legal action nor inflict punishments. Further, the jurisdiction exercised by Roman congregations is, since exercised in the name of the Pope, universal and Apostolic. The Pope’s approval of their findings may be either “*ordinary*” or “*solemn*” ; if merely approved and then published, they still remain acts of the congregation ; and as the infallibility of the Head of the Church cannot be delegated, the findings of the said congregation are not infallible, though of very great weight.

“No controversy touching the faith,” says Cardinal Gotti, “can be so decided by the congregation of the Holy Office as thereby to become an article of faith or to make people who dissent from it *ipso facto* heretics, simply, that is, by reason of the decision arrived at in the congregation.”¹

¹ *De Locis Theologicis* I. iii., *dub.* ix. 2, 12. And note Melchior Canus : “Whether a book were written by such and such an author

If such decisions receive “solemn” Papal approbation the Supreme Pontiff then makes them his own in a Bull which, if giving doctrinal decisions touching faith or morals, is an infallible pronouncement.

Since the decisions of the Biblical Commission only receive “ordinary” approbation, they are not infallible but “reformable,” though not therefore probably wrong. Hence we cannot assent to them with divine faith. Yet “obsequious silence” is not sufficient; nothing short of an internal as well as an external religious assent can be called “assent” at all. But we must understand to what precisely we are asked to assent, for decrees and decisions are legal documents which have to be studied.¹ Thus, when we are told that “the Biblical Commission defined that Moses wrote the Pentateuch,” we must remember that the commission cannot “define”; neither has it said Moses wrote the Pentateuch; only that the adverse arguments do not outweigh those in favour of the Mosaic authorship. On the other hand, the commission has declared that St. John wrote the *Fourth Gospel*. When, again, it is urged that a decree of the Holy Office declared that 1 John v. 7, “the three heavenly witnesses,” was authentic, the simple fact is that it gave a negative answer to the question “whether the authenticity of the passage in St. John’s *Epistle*, 1 John v. 7, can be safely denied or called in question”; the whole force lies in the word “safely,” *tuto*.²

Further, we assent to a decision as it stands, not to what we fancy the framers may have had in their minds. Thus the commission declared that the arguments in favour of

does not much concern Catholic faith, provided we believe that the Holy Spirit was its author. ‘It matters not’ says St. Gregory ‘what pen the king used to write his letter, provided he did write it’ (*Proem. in Job*). Hence there is nothing to prevent Pope Innocent and the Council of Carthage from having followed the opinion of their predecessors (antiquorum) in a question which does not touch the faith. At the same time, they could make no mistake in enumerating the number of the canonical books, for that certainly does not pertain to the faith” (*De Locis*, II. xi.).

¹ A good example of this failure is furnished by *The Papal Commission and the Pentateuch*, by Briggs and von Hügel, 1906; see, too, *Church Times*, November 28 and December 12, 1924.

² See *Dublin Review*, July, 1878, p. 165, on the condemnation of Ubaghs.

many authors for *Isaias* are insufficient to overthrow the traditional unity of authorship, and we assent; but new arguments may be forthcoming, and they might conceivably alter the situation.

But what, once more, is "religious and internal assent"? We can, if we like, assent to the decision that St. John wrote the *Fourth Gospel* simply because the arguments are convincing. Such assent would be given to the arguments, not to the authority which formulated them; to the intrinsic, not to the extrinsic, evidence. But supposing long study has convinced me that the *Fourth Gospel* was written by "John the Presbyter," or by "the Church of Asia in general"? I cannot now assent to the decision of the commission because of their arguments; I have long known them, and they have never satisfied me. Yet I have to give to these decisions the same interior assent as to approved decisions of congregations. If, then, I assent at all, it can only be because of authority; and my assent must be qualified by the nature of that authority; it is not infallible, and consequently can never directly touch my faith. For the deposit of faith, divine faith and infallibility are correlative terms; where one is lacking the others also must be absent. What, then, is the authority of the Biblical Commission? Common sense might argue that whereas I am but an individual who may be working in a groove, and perhaps attaching excessive importance to certain lines of argument, the members of the Biblical Commission are a body of scholars who have weighed and found unconvincing the arguments which have appealed to me. Ought I not, then, to hold the Johannine authorship on the authority of such a thoroughly competent body of scholars? But supposing I feel that they are not thoroughly competent? Supposing I can quote many scholars who, despite these arguments, deny the Johannine authorship?

Yet is it simply a question of pitting one body of scholars against another? Is there not on the side of the scholars of the commission something divine which gives them, in the eyes of those who can recognize it, a preponderating authority? Is it not true that they stand for and are upheld by the Church's teaching authority which, though not always exercised with infallibility, is yet always

exercised and accepted with security? The Holy See cannot delegate to these congregations or commissions its infallible authority, but it can delegate a teaching authority which, though divine, is not infallible, and, because not infallible, therefore reversible. What this means will be evident from the decree on 1 John v. 5. In 1897 a *dubium* was proposed to the Holy Office asking “whether it is safe to deny, or at least to call in doubt, the authenticity of the text” in question, and Pope Leo XIII. approved the negative answer given. Eight years later Künstle argued that this text was a Priscillianist addition, and the Archbishop of Munich gave his imprimatur.

On this a writer in the *Church Times* for December 12, 1924, comments as follows:

“This rejection of the passage in St. John was, and still is, obviously contrary to the Roman decree. And therefore the book which contains it is liable to be placed on the Index. . . . Neither the priest who wrote it nor the Archbishop who supported him can be said to represent the principles of the Roman Church if they contradict a decree of the Holy Office. . . . Whether in course of time, possibly after the lapse of centuries, that decree of the Holy Office, and other decrees of the Biblical Commission endorsed by Popes, may sink into the background, grow obsolete, and be forgotten, and be finally replaced by decrees of a contrary kind, is not a question of history, but of prophecy. . . . But even if that fate be in store for them, that fate involves some serious implications. It involves the instability and insecurity of Roman authoritative decisions. It involves that the Roman Church would contradict itself by officially affirming as a fact in one age what it would officially deny in another. It involves that the Roman authority in 1897 was seriously mistaken, because it suppressed and prohibited, as far as lay within its power, the announcement of what was, after all, historically and critically true. It would represent the Roman Church as having seriously obstructed the progress of historic truth, because it threw the forces of its authority into a condemnation of what it ought to have received.”

A damning indictment. But is it justified? If I were to ask the Holy See whether I can question the Pauline authorship of the pastoral epistles, the answer must inevitably be in the negative—until I have proved it. Had Origen, *per impossible*, asked, “Can I hold that the *Pastor* of Hermas forms part of the canon?” the answer would surely have been, “In the negative—until you prove it.” Had he asked, “Can I maintain that the *Epistle to Philemon* should have a place in the canon?” the answer would surely have

been, "*Dubitative* ; consult the Church at Colossæ." So with the *dubium* on 1 John v. 7 ; it was not so much a question of the authenticity of the passage as whether, in the then state of the evidence, anybody could hold that it was no part of St. John's *Epistle*. Now non-Catholic scholars had, and perhaps rightly, long followed Erasmus in questioning its authenticity. Still the Council of Trent had expressly laid down that "*integri libri cum omnibus suis partibus*" were to be received as canonical and inspired. Was this to be disregarded by Biblical professors simply because many textual critics felt the passage was not genuine ? It had first to be thoroughly investigated, hence the insistence on the word *tuto*, "safely" ; it was up to Künstle to make this investigation. For it is one thing to deny in pulpit or lecture-room the authenticity of a passage hitherto accepted by the Church ; quite another to ventilate the question in a scholarly treatise as Künstle did. Perhaps Künstle has proved his case ; perhaps not. Supposing that "after the lapse of centuries" scholars, whether Roman or otherwise, decide that the *Comma Johanneum* must go ? Does the "instability and insecurity of Roman authoritative decisions" follow ? They are not infallible ; therefore reversible. In other words, a view which may not *safely* be taught in 1897 may come to be safely taught in 1997.

It will not be difficult, even for those who feel that ideas they have long cherished are assailed by these decisions, to submit interiorly as well as exteriorly if they reflect that (a) it is morally certain that these congregations express the mind of the Church.¹ (b) Though not all members of the commission are Biblical experts, it is hardly desirable that they should be. They are called upon to weigh evidence which experts put before them ; those who draw up the decisions are men of trained intelligence who have probably taught for years ; they are accustomed to weigh evidence

¹ "The strength and authority of the judgements of Roman theologians are derived, not from (so to speak) their personal learning and ability, but chiefly from the circumstance that those judgements may most justly be regarded, if not with absolute certainty, yet with great probability, as expressing the mind and sense of that Church which is the mother and mistress of all churches" (Murray, *de Ecclesia*, xvii. 79, quoted by Ward, *The Authority of Doctrinal Decisions*, p. 136, note).

and investigate most delicate matters. Can we maintain that such men are not competent to form a sound judgment on evidence submitted? (c) Because a certain teaching is not infallible it is not therefore insecure; we feel perfectly secure in adhering to many things which are far from infallibly true.

“The Apostolic See,” says Zaccaria, “to which has been entrusted the duty of safeguarding the deposit of faith, as also the task and duty of providing the members of the Universal Church with food for their eternal salvation, can prescribe that certain theological opinions, or opinions connected with theology, are to be followed or not, and not solely of pronouncing an infallible and definitive decision; it can do so because it is necessary to safeguard the security of Catholic doctrine, and this without any qualification, but simply by reason of circumstances that have arisen.”¹

Cardinal Franzelin thus comments on this:

“In declarations of this sort, although there is no infallible truth in the teaching . . . yet there is infallible security: I mean a security which is objective as concerns the teaching laid down, and subjective in the sense that it is safe for us to embrace it, and not safe to refuse to embrace it; nor can we refuse to do so without a violation of the submission due to the divinely-established teaching office.”²

Such assent, to repeat, derives its character from the nature of the authority to which we bow:

“According as the authority is that of God revealing, that of the Church—or her Supreme Head—infallibly teaching, or that of sacred authority, not solemnly defining, but looking at the interest of Catholic doctrine.”³

And again:

“Since in theological teaching the strict reason and main argument for assenting is not the truth clearly seen in itself, but the authority that

¹ Zaccaria, *Antifebronius*, II. v.

² *De Divina Traditione*, 1875, p. 127. When Franzelin says “infallibly secure” he is, of course, not using the word “infallibly” in the same sense as when he talks of a proposition as being “infallibly true.” The latter is a divine infallibility, the former human. When, for instance, I accept a statement on the ground that it is the traditional teaching of centuries, I am accepting a statement which has no divine guarantee of its truth, and which therefore may conceivably be false; yet since by all the laws of human evidence it is true, I am absolutely “secure” in assenting to it. At the same time we wish Franzelin had not used the expression as it is apt to mislead.

³ *Dublin Review*, July, 1878, p. 187. Two papers by an anonymous writer (not W. G. Ward), *The Assent due to Papal Utterances*, July-October, 1878.

propounds it, it follows that this sacred universal authority of doctrinal foresight is, by reason of the duty incumbent upon it, a completely sufficient motive which should induce the will of a devout man to summon his intellect to give to it religious or theological consent."¹

Further, though the appearance of such decisions has always been hailed with a storm of invective, they have always been justified by subsequent events. This is well expressed by Mgr. Nardi who, after affirming that he does not believe that unmerited condemnations of books have ever been fulminated, adds :

"I am convinced that it pertains to Providence not to permit that Rome, even apart from cases where the Pope speaks *ex cathedra*, should condemn as erroneous a doctrine which is not so. Experience confirms my assertion ; it will be found that since the congregations of Cardinals have been instituted they have never condemned in any book a doctrine which did not deserve the censure."

This was in a defence of the Index in reply to strictures by M. Rouland in the French Chamber, 1865, quoted by Ward, *Authority of Doctrinal Decisions*, p. 132, note.

Decisions of the Biblical Commission on the Old Testament.

I. OF SO-CALLED "TACIT QUOTATIONS."

The following question has been proposed to the Biblical Commission as being the established guide for Biblical students :

"Is it allowable for a Catholic commentator to solve difficulties occurring in certain Biblical texts which apparently make historical statements by asserting that we have in such texts tacit or implied quotations of documents written by a non-inspired author, and that the inspired author in no sense intends to approve of these statements or make them his own, and that these statements cannot, in consequence, be regarded as free from error?"

To this the commission has thought well to reply :

"In the negative, except in the case when, saving the mind and decision of the Church, it can be shown by solid arguments, first, that the sacred writer really does cite another's sayings or writings ; and, second, that he does not intend in so doing, to approve them or make them his own."

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 131.

On February 13, 1905, the Holy Father, at the petition of the consultant, approved the above reply and ordered its publication.

II. CONCERNING NARRATIVES IN THE HISTORICAL BOOKS WHICH HAVE ONLY THE APPEARANCE OF BEING HISTORICAL.

To the following question the Pontifical Commission for Biblical Studies deems fit to reply as below :

Question : Can we admit as a principle of sound exegesis the opinion which holds that those books of sacred Scripture which are regarded as historical, either wholly or in part, do sometimes present us with what is not really history properly so called and objectively true, but only something having the appearance of history and intended to convey a meaning different from the strictly literal or historical sense of the words ?

Reply : In the negative, excepting always the case—a case not to be easily or rashly conceded, and then only on the supposition that it is not opposed to the Church's teaching, subject, moreover, to her decision—that it can be proved by solid arguments that the sacred writer did not intend to give a true and strict history, but proposed rather to set forth, under the guise and form of history, a parable or an allegory, or some meaning distinct from the literal or historical signification of the words.

In an audience accorded to the secretaries on June 23, 1905, the Holy Father confirmed the above reply and ordered its publication.

III. OF THE MOSAIC AUTHENTICITY OF THE PENTATEUCH, JUNE 27, 1906.

i. Are the critical arguments against the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch of such weight that we are justified in disregarding (a) the collective force of the many indications of the Mosaic authorship afforded by both Old and New Testaments ; (b) the persistent agreement of the Jewish people on the point ; (c) the constant tradition of the Christian Church ; (d) the internal arguments in favour of the Mosaic authorship which are deducible from the text (of the Pentateuch itself) ; and are we consequently justified in holding that Moses was not the author of these books, but that they were compiled from sources which were in many cases of later date than Moses ?

Reply : In the negative.

ii. (a) Does the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch mean that we are bound to hold that Moses wrote it all with his own hand, or at least dictated it to amanuenses ?

Reply : In the negative.

ii. (b) Can we, on the other hand, allow the hypothesis that Moses himself entrusted to one or more scribes the task of committing to writing what he alone had received under divine inspiration ; pre-*vising*, of course, that these amanuenses faithfully rendered his meaning, wrote nothing which he did not intend, and omitted nothing ; pre-*vising*, too, that when the work had been completed it was approved

by Moses, who was the principal and the inspired author, and that it was finally published under his name?

Reply : In the affirmative.

(N.B.—We have divided this second *dubium* into two parts for convenience' sake ; in the original, both are proposed together.)

iii. Can we, without prejudice to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, concede that Moses used documents in composing his work—that is to say, written documents or oral traditions, from which, in accordance with the particular object proposed to him, and under the influence of divine inspiration, he derived information, but the wording or meaning of which he modified as he thought fit, and so inserted in his work?

Reply : In the affirmative.

iv. Can it be admitted, without in any way prejudicing the Mosaic authorship, that in the course of time certain modifications may have found their way into the Pentateuch, as, for example, additions made subsequent to the death of Moses by an inspired writer, glosses or explanations of the text, modifications of archaic words and forms? Can we admit also textual corruptions due to careless copying, and only to be detected by the application of the principles of textual criticism?

Reply : Affirmatively, subject to the Church's decision.

IV. OF THE CHARACTER OF THE BOOK OF ISAIAS, AND OF ITS AUTHOR.

The following replies to questions proposed have been furnished by the Pontifical Biblical Commission :

i. Can we teach that the prophecies which occur in the *Book of Isaias*—and generally in the Bible—are not really predictions ; but that they are either narratives composed subsequent to the event, or, on the supposition that we have to see in some of them predictions previous to the event, only predictions in the sense that the prophet foretold them by way of mere conjectures based upon things which had already happened, and which he, by reason of a certain sagacity and his own natural acuteness, was enabled to forecast, and that they consequently were not due to a supernatural revelation from God who foreknows the future?

Reply : In the negative.

ii. Can the view which holds that Isaias and other prophets only published predictions of things which were to happen immediately, or after a short interval, be reconciled with the predictions—especially the Messianic and eschatological ones—which they certainly set forth as referring to the remote future? Can it be reconciled, too, with the common view of the Fathers who unanimously assert that the prophets also foretold things which were only to be fulfilled after the lapse of many ages?

Reply : In the negative.

iii. Can we hold that the prophets, not merely as reprovers of human depravity and preachers of the divine word for the gain of their hearers,

but also as predictors of future events, must always have addressed themselves to a present and contemporary, and not to a future, audience, if they would be fully intelligible to them? And, in this same connection, can we hold that the second part of the *Book of Isaias*, chapters xl-lxvi., in which the seer addresses and comforts, not the Jews contemporary with Isaias, but those mourning in exile in Babylon, and that, too, as though he were living in their midst, cannot be attributed to Isaias, then long dead, but rather to some unknown seer living among the exiles?

Reply : In the negative.

iv. Is the philological argument—one derived from the language and the style, and employed to throw doubt upon the identity of the author of the *Book of Isaias*—of such force as to compel a serious student, *viz.* one who is versed in critical principles and well acquainted with Hebrew, to acknowledge the presence of a plurality of authors in the book?

Reply : In the negative.

v. Are there really solid arguments, even when taken cumulatively, for the view that the *Book of Isaias* is not to be attributed solely to Isaias himself, but to two or even more authors?

Reply : In the negative.

On June 28, 1908, in an audience graciously given to the two consultants, the Holy Father ratified the above replies and ordered their publication.

V. OF THE HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THE FIRST THREE CHAPTERS OF GENESIS.

i. Are the various exegetical systems which have been elaborated and defended by the aid of a science falsely so called, for the purpose of excluding the literal historic sense from the first three chapters of *Genesis*, based upon solid arguments?

Reply : In the negative.

ii. Can we, in spite of the character and the historic mould of the *Book of Genesis*; in spite, too, of the close connection between the first three chapters and those which follow; in face, too, of the manifold testimony of the books both of the Old and New Testaments, of the practically unanimous opinion of the Fathers, and in face of the traditional view which, derived from the Jewish people, has always been held by the Church, teach that the three aforesaid chapters do not contain the story of things which actually happened—a story, namely, which corresponds to objective reality and historic truth? Can we hold that, on the contrary, these chapters contain fables derived from mythologies and cosmologies belonging to older nations, but purified of all polytheistic error and accommodated to monotheistic teaching? Or, again, that they contain allegories and symbols destitute of any foundation in objective reality, but presented under the garb of history for the inculcation of religious and philosophical truths? Or, again, that they contain legends, partly historical and partly fictitious, freely handled for the instruction and edification of souls?

Reply : In the negative to each part.

iii. Can we, in particular, call in question the literal and historical meaning when in these chapters it is question of the narration of facts which touch the foundations of Christian religion, as, for example, the creation of all things by God in the beginning of time ; the particular creation of man ; the formation of the first woman from the first man ; the unity of the human race ; the original happiness of our first parents in a state of justice, integrity, and immortality ; the divine command laid upon man for the proving of his obedience ; the transgression of that divine command at the instigation of the devil under the form of a serpent ; the fall of our first parents from their primitive state of innocence ; and the promise of a future Redeemer ?

Reply : In the negative.

iv. Can we, in interpreting those passages of these chapters which the Fathers and Doctors have interpreted in divers ways without leaving us anything definite or certain, 'work out for ourselves, and adhere to, any opinion at which we have prudently arrived, saving, of course, the decision of the Church and following the analogy of the faith ?

Reply : In the affirmative.

v. Are we bound to interpret in their strictly literal sense every single thing, words, namely, and phrases, in these chapters, so as never to depart from it even when expressions are patently not used in the strict sense, but metaphorically or anthropomorphically, and when, too, reason or necessity compel us to give up the literal sense ?

Reply : In the negative.

vi. Supposing always the literal and historical sense, can the allegorical and prophetic interpretation of certain passages in these chapters—an interpretation guaranteed by the example of the Fathers and of the Church—be prudently and usefully applied ?

Reply : In the affirmative.

vii. Since it was not the intention of the sacred author when writing the first chapter of *Genesis* to teach us the innermost nature of visible things, nor to present the complete order of creation in a scientific manner, but rather to furnish his people with a popular account such as the common parlance of that age allowed, one, namely, adapted to the senses and to man's intelligence, are we always bound, when interpreting these chapters, to seek for scientific exactitude of expression ?

Reply : In the negative.

viii. Can the word *Yom* (day), which is used in the first chapter of *Genesis* for describing and distinguishing the six days, be taken either in its strict sense as the natural day, or in the less strict sense as signifying a certain space of time ? Is free discussion of this allowable to interpreters ?

Reply : In the affirmative.

On June 30, 1909, in an audience graciously conceded to the two consultors, the Holy Father ratified the above replies and ordered their publication.

VI. OF THE AUTHORS AND THE DATES OF COMPOSITION OF THE PSALMS.

i. Are the terms “Psalms of David,” “Hymns of David,” “The Book of the Psalms of David,” “The Davidic Psalter,” which in the old collections, and even in the councils, are used to designate the Old Testament book of CL. Psalms, as also the opinion of many Fathers and Doctors, who held that absolutely all the Psalms of the Psalter were to be attributed to David alone, of such force that we have to consider David as the sole author of the entire Psalter?

Reply : In the negative.

ii. Can we, from the agreement of the Hebrew text with the Alexandrian Greek text and with other old versions, rightly conclude that the titles prefixed to the Psalms in the Hebrew text are of older date than the aforesaid Septuagint version, and that consequently they are due, if not directly to the authors of the Psalms, at least to very ancient Jewish traditions?

Reply : In the affirmative.

iii. Can the aforesaid titles—witnesses to the Jewish tradition—be reasonably called in question, except when there is solid reason for doubting their genuine character?

Reply : In the negative.

iv. Considering the not infrequent testimonies in the Bible to David's natural skill—a skill further illumined by the special gift of the Holy Spirit for the composition of religious odes; considering, too, the arrangements drawn up by him for the liturgical chanting of the Psalms; the attribution also—both in the Old Testament and the New—of Psalms to him, as also in the actual inscriptions affixed of old time to the Psalms; considering, moreover, the common opinion of the Jews, and of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, can it be prudently denied that David was the principal author of the odes contained in the Psalter? Can it, on the other hand, be maintained that only a few of these odes are to be attributed to the royal Psalmist?

Reply : In the negative to both questions.

v. In particular, can we deny the Davidic origin of those Psalms which, in both the Old and the New Testaments, are expressly cited as David's, especially such as Ps. ii., “Why have the Gentiles raged”; Ps. xv., “Preserve me, O Lord”; Ps. xvii., “I will love Thee, O Lord, my strength”; Ps. xxxi., “Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven”; Ps. lxviii., “Save me, O God”; Ps. cix., “The Lord said to my Lord”?

Reply : In the negative.

vi. Can we admit the view held by some, namely, that certain Psalms, whether by David or by other authors, have, for liturgical or musical reasons, or through the carelessness of copyists, or for other unexplained reasons, been divided, or even welded together? Further, can we hold that some Psalms, e.g. the *Miserere*, have, for the sake of better adaptability to historical circumstance or Jewish festivals, been slightly remoulded or modified, either by the removal or addition of

one or two verses, without the inspiration of the whole sacred text being thereby affected?

Reply : Affirmatively to both questions.

vii. Can we maintain with any real probability the opinion of those who, judging by internal grounds alone, or basing their views upon an unsound interpretation of the sacred text, strive to demonstrate that not a few Psalms were composed after the date of Esdras and Nehemias—nay, even in the Maccabæan Age?

Reply : In the negative.

viii. Can we, judging by the repeated testimonies of the books of the New Testament, the unanimous consent of the Fathers—which is in agreement with Jewish writers—hold that many Psalms are to be recognized as prophetic and Messianic, *i.e.* as foretelling the coming of a future Redeemer, His kingdom, His priesthood, His passion, death, and resurrection? And must we, in consequence, reject the opinion of those who, perverting the prophetic and Messianic character of the *Psalms*, limit these oracles concerning Christ to mere predictions of the future lot of the elect people?

Reply : Affirmatively to both questions.

On May 1, 1910, in an audience graciously conceded to the two consultants, the Holy Father ratified the above replies and ordered their publication.

CHAPTER III

SOME DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF THE BIBLE

- I. The Poetical Structure of the Bible.
- II. The Messianic Prophecies.
- III. The Parables in the Old Testament.
- IV. The Miracles in the Old Testament.

While the inspired character of the Bible gives it, as we have seen, a peculiar position among the books of the world and necessarily demands methods of handling it different from the methods employed in dealing with other classes of literature, its poetical, prophetic, parabolic and miraculous aspects cannot be neglected if we would arrive at any full understanding of it and its teachings.

I. The Poetical Structure of the Bible.

One of the chief difficulties in the way of a full understanding of the Bible lies in its undoubtedly poetical character. This poetry has little in common with our Western ideas of poetry, and is, moreover, obscured in translation. It is usual, indeed, to divide the books of the Bible into historical and poetical; but though this division is a practical one we must not allow it to mislead us, for even the prose of the Bible is cast in poetical form at times. We must never forget that the Hebrew records were not, for the most part, originally committed to writing, but were handed down from mouth to mouth. Thus there is much to recommend the comparison drawn between the rhapsodical Homeric poems and the Hebrew narratives. How large a part poetry played in Hebrew annals may be gathered from the frequent allusions to poetical pieces now

lost, e.g. to the *Book of the Wars of the Lord*,¹ the *Book of Jashar*,² also to lost poems of Solomon.³ We have allusions, also, to the habit of committing important things to memory;⁴ the same is borne out by the alphabetical construction of certain Psalms, as well as of *Lamentations*,⁵ which were undoubtedly so formed in order to aid the memory. The poetical pieces in the early books are the most archaic portions of the Bible.⁶

It is not easy to discover in what precisely this poetry consisted. Josephus states that Moses composed his hymn of deliverance after the passage of the Red Sea "in hexameter verse";⁷ he says the same of Moses' *Canticle*, "which he left to them in the Holy Book."⁸ He is even more explicit regarding the Psalms of David, which were "of several sorts of metre, some trimeters and pentameters."⁹ St. Jerome is not always consistent in his views on the subject. Thus he says:

"What more tuneful than the *Psalms* which, like our Horace and Pindar the Greek, at one time trip along in iambs, at another shout in alcaics; now swell in sapphic measure, now move in half-feet? What more beautiful than the canticles in *Deuteronomy* or *Isaias*, what graver than *Solomon*, more perfect than *Job*? All these are in hexameter and pentameter verses. . . . When we read them in Greek they sound quite different; when we read them in Latin they make no sense at all!"¹⁰

Of *Job* he says that, whereas the opening and the conclusion are in prose, the rest—

"is written in hexameter verse with dactyls and spondees; and owing to the idiom of the language, these verses often admit other feet, not of the same syllables, but of the same measures. Sometimes, too, *Job*'s rhythm is sweet and tinkling; but a poet would appreciate this better than the ordinary reader."¹¹

¹ Num. xxi. 14.

² Jos. x. 13, 2 Sam. i. 18; see *J.T.S.*, July, 1920, H. St. John Thackeray, *New Light on the Book of Jashar*.

³ 3 Kings iv. 31-33.

⁴ Deut. xxxi. 19, 22, xxxii. 44, 2 Sam. i. 18.

⁵ For the poetry of *Lamentations* see *J.T.S.*, October, 1905, and *Expositor*, August, 1913; for the rhyme in *Canticles*, *J.T.S.*, July, 1909.

⁶ Gen. xlix., Exod. xv., Num. xxi., Judg. v., etc.

⁷ *Ant.* II. xvi. 4.

⁸ *Ibid.* IV. viii. 44.

⁹ *Ibid.* VII. xii. 3.

¹⁰ *Præf. in Chronicon Eusebii*, P.L. XXVII. 36; cf. *Ep.* liii. 7.

¹¹ *Præf. in Job*, P.L. XXVIII. 1081-1082; the text is apparently corrupt.

Yet, despite all this, St. Jerome can say :

"Because you see the prophets set out in verse you must not imagine that the Hebrews were tied down to metre, or that this was the case with the *Psalms* or the writings of Solomon ; rather is it as with Demosthenes and Cicero whose works are written in phrases and periods (*cola et commata*), though they certainly wrote in prose and not in verse."¹

But since the days of Lowth, who published his treatise on Hebrew poetry in 1753, it has been evident that the root principle lies in the parallelism of members, or balancing of sentences. At the same time it would be wrong to suppose that Hebrew poetry consisted solely in this parallelism ; there is also a constant play upon words, a love of assonance and of alliteration. Moreover St. Jerome was not wrong when he insisted that there were Hebrew metres, for there are measures, not, however, of feet but of accent. Hence we may say that the two essentials of Hebrew poetry are parallelism of members and balance of accents ; while the accessories are assonance, play upon words, and alliteration.

The parallelism of members is perhaps most clear in the sapiential books.

A wise son makes his father glad :
But a foolish son is the sorrow of his mother.²

This is known as antithetical parallelism, where one member is opposed to another. When the same thought is repeated in successive verses, but in slightly different form, the parallelism is called "synthetic."

Ada and Sella hear my voice,
Ye wives of Lamech hearken to my speech ;
For I have slain a man to my own wounding,
A stripling to mine own bruising ;
Sevenfold vengeance shall be taken for Cain,
But for Lamech seven times sevenfold.³

Sometimes the thought is piled up, so to speak ; in a series of sentences the thought advances, and so is brought home more and more cogently to the hearer or reader.

¹ *Præf. in Isaiam, ibid.*, 771 ; see *Studia Biblica*, iii. 304, on *Hebrew Stichometry*.

² Prov. x. 1.

³ Gen. iv. 23-24.

Juda, thee shall thy brethren praise,
 Thy hand shall be upon the necks of thine enemies,
 The sons of thy father shall bow down to thee.
 Juda is a lion's whelp,
 To the prey, my son, thou art gone up,
 Resting, thou hast crouched as a lion,
 And as a lioness, who shall rouse him?
 The sceptre shall not be taken from Juda,
 Nor a ruler from his thigh,
 Till he come that is to be sent,
 And He shall be the Expectation of nations.¹

Examples of these different forms of parallelism may be discovered throughout the Bible; and their forms are infinitely various according as now the first line in the stanza is parallel with the last, the second with the last but one, and so on. The *Gradual Psalms* have been thought by some to be so named because constructed in "stairway" fashion, for example, Ps. cxx. Nor is this poetical structure confined to the Old Testament. Our Lord used it in His most solemn addresses, for example in the Sermon on the Mount.² The picture of the man who built his house on a rock or on sand³ is arranged in two strophes, which the student can readily work out for himself; similarly, Christ's sublime picture of the Judgement⁴ falls naturally into four stanzas.

The question of accents is a more delicate one because it is impossible to reproduce it in a translation; moreover, critics still dispute regarding the principles underlying the Hebrew measures. A student may speedily convince himself of the part played by the accentuation if he will read aloud Ps. ii. in the Hebrew; while a similar reading of Isa. xxiv-xxvii. will convince him of the striking use made of assonance and rhyme—note especially xxiv. 1-4, xxvii. 7.

So far for the structural principles of Hebrew poetry. The poetical pieces so constructed are of various kinds; we have lyric poetry in the Psalter, especially in the Psalms attributed to David; we have gnomic or sententious poetry, often in the form of riddles, in *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiasticus*.⁵ In *Job* and *Canticle of Canticles* we have the dramatic form,

¹ Gen. xlix. 8-11.

³ *Ibid.* vii. 24-27.

⁵ Cf. Judg. ix. 8-15.

² Matt. vii. 7-8; cf. xxiii. 8-12.

⁴ *Ibid.* xxv. 31-46; cf. J.T.S., April, 1913.

as also in certain Psalms, *e.g.* Ps. xxiii. In many Psalms a refrain occurs which serves either to break it up into strophes or to indicate the different parts of the chorus.¹

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II. The Messianic Prophecies.

In a very true sense the whole of the Old Testament is prophetic of the Messiah; indeed, it may be said to have no other *raison d'être*; in St. Augustine's well-known words, *In Novo Testamento patent quæ in Veteri latent*. And herein lies the typical sense of Holy Scripture; the persons who figure in its pages, the things they do, and the words they utter, are prefigurative of things spiritual and future. At the same time the holy men of old, as St. Peter says, “inquired and diligently searched . . . what or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ in them did signify”;² they only saw vaguely what in many cases we now see so clearly. Hence many of their utterances are only with difficulty recognized as prophetic, and none but the same Holy Spirit of God, who revealed these things to them, can declare to us, through the Church, in what sense we are to understand their words—“understanding this first,” as St. Peter says, “that no prophecy of Scripture is made by

¹ *E.g.* Ps. xli-xlvi., xlviii., lxxix., cvi.

² 1 Pet. i. 10-12.

private interpretation. For prophecy came not by the will of man at any time; but the holy men of God spoke inspired by the Holy Spirit."¹ Thus we are often surprised to find quite unexpected passages from the Old Testament quoted as referring to the Messiah.²

Hence in the following list of Messianic passages we must not be understood as giving all those which are referable to the Messiah, but rather those which, from their directness or importance, are most striking.

Following, then, the order of the books, we have :

Gen. iii. 14-15, to Eve, the *Protévangelion*, as it is often termed, or the first heralding of the Gospel.

Gen. xii. 3, xxii. 18, to Abraham : " In thy seed shall all the nations be blessed."

Gen. xxvi. 4, to Isaac, the same.

Gen. xxviii. 14, to Jacob, the same.

Gen. xlix. 8-12, of Juda as the chosen tribe in which the Messiah should come ; these words were spoken by Jacob when dying.

Num. xxiv. 17, spoken by Balaam : " A star shall rise up of Jacob."

Deut. xviii. 15, the words of Moses on the whole series of prophets culminating in *The Prophet*, whom the others but heralded.

2 Sam. vii. 15-29, the great promises to David by which his house was singled out " for ever."³ On these promises the whole subsequent Messianic doctrine was based, and in their light alone can we understand such *Messianic Psalms* as viii, xv, xxi, xlv, lxxi, cix, and cxxx. But here, again, we must remember that the whole *Psalter* was in a sense Messianic ; it was the Messianic hymn-book of the nation. Yet in certain Psalms, for instance in those just enumerated, the seer seems to be for a moment uplifted, the mists which are natural to prophecy are dissipated, and he breaks out into words which astonish us by their clear insight into the future ; then again the mists settle down, and the mountain summits which had been visible for a moment are once more shrouded in gloom. As an example of the Messianic sense of the whole *Psalter*—as the New Testament writers divinely understood it—we should note Ps. lxix, which perhaps we should hardly have

¹ 2 Pet. i. 20-21.

² Heb. i. 10-12, where Ps. cii. 26-27 is quoted. Cf. Rom. x. 20 and Isa. lxi. 1, etc.

³ Cf. 1 Paral. xvii. 7-27.

referred to the Messiah, yet this Psalm is more often quoted as referring to Him than any other Psalm in the whole collection.

Isaias is more than once spoken of by St. Jerome as "rather evangelist than prophet"¹ on the ground that the great prophet sees so clearly into the future and depicts in such striking language the sufferings of our Lord that he might almost seem to have witnessed them. Hence it is difficult to single out special passages as Messianic when the whole prophecy from start to finish may be called Messianic. Certain passages, however, stand out pre-eminent, *e.g.*, Isa. vii. 14, viii. 10, ix. 6, xi. 1-10, xvi. 1, xlii. 1-7, lii. 13, liii. 12, lxi. 1-6, lxiii. 1-6, lxiv. 1-4, lxv. 1-2.

In the prophecies of Jeremias we have not such startling references to the "King who is to come," but amongst explicit declarations we may cite i. 32, xxiii. 14, xxxi. 22. In addition we have such passages as :

Bar. iii. 36-38.
Ezech. xliv. 1-3.
Dan. ix. 21-27.
Amos ix. 11.
Mich. v. 2.

Hab. iii. 2, in LXX.²
Aggeus ii. 8.
Zach. iii. 8, vi. 12, ix. 9.
Mal. i. 11, iii. 1-3, iv. 2.

The student will notice how these prophecies grow in clearness and precision; thus the vague promise in Gen. iii. is in xlix. 10 limited to the tribe of Juda; in 2 Sam. vii. it is further defined as belonging to the house of David. In certain Psalms³ the Messiah is depicted as suffering; in others He is described as the "triumphant King."⁴ In *Isaias* we begin to have specific names for Him: He is "the Holy One of Israel," "My Servant," "the servant of the Lord"; in *Jeremias*: "the Just One"; in *Ezechiel*: "the Prince"; in *Daniel*: "the Saint of saints"; in *Micheas*: "the Ruler"; in *Aggeus* and *Zacharias*: "the Orient"; in *Malachi*: "the Angel of the Lord."

¹ *Prol.* to comment. on *Isaias*, P.L. xxiv. 18; *Adv. Rufin.* II., Ep. 50.

² *Cf.* Introduction to *Habacuc*.

³ Ps. xxi, as also in Isa. liii.

⁴ Ps. xcii-xcviii.

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* Non-Catholic.

III. The Parables in the Old Testament.

The Hebrews had two words, חידה and משל, *Chidah* and *Mashal*, which are used almost synonymously;¹ the former, however, more strictly signifies "a riddle," the latter "a veiled saying," or one which requires thought in order to detect its full significance.² The term *Mashal* was the more common of the two, and was applied to all parables, proverbs, similitudes, symbolic expressions, and solemn utterances in general. This fact explains the way in which we find the term "parable" used in the New Testament both for a narrative intended to illustrate some spiritual truth, and also for what we should more correctly term a "proverb."³ "Fable" is to be distinguished from "parable" in that the former takes occasion from the material creation to teach lessons of human wisdom; the latter, on the contrary, is solely concerned with the spiritual lessons to be drawn from human life. In this sense, too, allegory, metaphor, solemn utterance and symbolic actions, are all much akin.

As examples of *riddles* we have Judg. xiv. 12, and with it we may group the symbolic actions of Ezechiel, of which the people complained (xx. 49) that "this man speaketh in parables," i.e. in mysteries;⁴ with these should be compared the mysterious marriages of Osee i-iii.

Solemn utterances, often dignified by the term *Mashal*, occur in Job xxvii. 1, xxix. 1, Ps. xlviii. 5, 13, lxxvii. 2. And with these may be classed the whole of *Proverbs*, as well as

¹ Cf. Ezech. xvii. 2.

² Cf. Ps. lxxvii. 2, quoted in Matt. xiii. 35.

³ Cf. Luke iv. 23 and xii. 16.

⁴ Cf. Ezech. iv. 1-3, 4-8, 9-12, v. 1-17, xii. 1-16, xxiv. 1-14, 15-27. Cf. also Jer. xiii. 1-11, xviii. 1-10, xix. 1-13, xxvii-xxviii., xxxii. 7-15.

the sententious sayings in *Ecclesiasticus*, though we should rather describe them as "proverbs."

Allegories, in which, while one thing is spoken of, another is meant—and clearly understood to be meant—are not infrequent.¹

Parables properly so called are perhaps non-existent in the Old Testament, though the beautiful allegory in Isa. v. 1-7 is sometimes classed as such.

Proverbs—outside the sapiential books—are rare; we have what is perhaps a solitary example in 1 Sam. x. 21.²

IV. The Miracles in the Old Testament.

Miracle may be defined as something which takes place by divine power outside the ordinary course of nature. Miracles thus defined fall into three classes according to the extent to which they transcend the powers of nature. Thus certain things never could under any circumstances be done by natural powers—for example, the Transfiguration of our Lord, His Resurrection from the dead, etc. Others, again, could be done by unaided nature, but not under the particular circumstances in question; thus, nature gives life, yet cannot give it to a dead body, hence the raising of a dead man is a miracle. Lastly, certain wonderful things take place which are only to be considered as miracles when we regard the way in which they happen; thus certain drugs can cure a fever, but no drug can cure a fever on the instant. Nature, again, can cause darkness, but not such darkness as that of the ninth plague in Egypt. All the miracles given below will fall into one or other of these categories.³

Exod. iv. 2-4 : Moses' rod is turned into a serpent.⁴

Exod. iv. 6-7 : His hand becomes leprous.

Exod. vii-xii : The ten plagues of Egypt.

¹ Cf. 2 Sam. xiv. 5-10, Ps. lxxix. 9-16, Ezech. xvii. 1-10, xix. 1-14, xxiii. 1-49.

² The student should compare such passages as Num. xxiii. 7, 18, xxiv. 3, 15, 20, 23; also Num. xxi. 18 in the Hebrew text, and xii. 8; also 3 Kings x. 1, and Hab. ii. 6, for various uses of the Hebrew expressions.

³ See St. Thomas, *Summa Theol.*, Ia. cv. 6-8; IIIa. xliii-xliv.; *Contra Gentes*, III. xcvi-cvii.; *De Potentia*, VI.

⁴ Cf. Exod. vii. 10.

- Exod. xiii. 21-22 : The pillar of cloud and fire.¹
 Exod. xiv : The passage of the Red Sea.
 Exod. xv. 23-26 : The healing of the waters of Mara.
 Exod. xvi. 13 : The quails.²
 Exod. xvi. 13-36 : The Manna.³
 Exod. xvii. 6 : Water from the rock at Rephidim.⁴
 Exod. xl. 32-36 : The "Glory" of the Lord, commonly termed by the Rabbis the "Shechinah."⁵
 Lev. ix. 24 : Fire descends on the holocaust.⁶
 Lev. x. 2 : Fire destroys Nadab and Abiu.
 Num. xi. 1 : Fire destroys the murmurers.
 Num. xii. 10 : Mary is smitten with leprosy.
 Num. xvi. 31 : The earth opens and swallows Dathan and Abiron.
 Num. xvi. 35 : Fire destroys the children of Core.
 Num. xvii. 1-10 : Aaron's rod blossoms miraculously.
 Num. xxi. 6-9 : The fiery serpent and the brazen serpent.
 Num. xxii. 28-30 : Balaam's ass speaks to him.
 Jos. iii : The miraculous passage of the Jordan.
 Jos. vi : The walls of Jericho fall.
 Jos. x. 12-14 : The sun and the moon stand still.⁷
 1 Sam. v. 3-5 : The fall of Dagon.
 1 Sam. v. 6-12 : Plagues on the Philistines.
 1 Sam. vi. 19 : The slaughter of those who looked into the ark.
 1 Sam. xii. 18 : Thunder and rain out of due season at Samuel's prayer.
 2 Sam. xxiv : The plague, owing to the census of the people ; its cessation.
 3 Kings viii. 10 : The "Shechinah" on occasion of the consecration of Solomon's temple.⁸
 3 Kings xiii. 4-6 : The withering of Jeroboam's hand ; its restoration at the prophet's prayer ; the rending of the altar.
 3 Kings xvii : Elias calls a famine on the earth ; he is fed by ravens ; he multiplies the oil and meal ; he raises to life the widow's son.
 3 Kings xviii : Elias calls down fire from heaven on the sacrifice, and wins rain by his prayer.
 4 Kings i : Elias calls down fire from heaven on the two captains with their two bands of fifty.
 4 Kings ii : Elias is taken up to heaven in a fiery chariot ; his mantle descends on Eliseus, who crosses the Jordan by its means ; Eliseus sweetens a spring of water ; bears come and destroy his mockers.
 4 Kings iii : Eliseus supplies the troops with water in the desert.
 4 Kings iv : Eliseus multiplies the oil ; he raises a child to life ; he purifies the poisoned food ; he multiplies food.
 4 Kings v : Naaman is miraculously healed in the Jordan ; his

¹ Cp. Num. xiv. 14.

² Cp. *ibid.*, xi. 31-34.

³ Cp. *ibid.* xi. 2-9.

⁴ Cp. *ibid.* xx. 11.

⁵ Cp. Lev. ix. 23 ; Num. ix. 15-23, x. 11, xii. 10, xvi. 43 ; Deut. i. 33.

⁶ Cp. 2 Macc. ii. 10.

⁷ Cp. Eccclus. xlvi. 5.

⁸ Cp. 2 Paral. v. 13-14.

leprosy attaches itself to Giezi, Eliseus' servant, because of his dishonesty.

4 Kings vi : Eliseus makes iron to swim ; he blinds the Syrian troops and leads them into Samaria.

4 Kings xiii : The bones of Eliseus miraculously give life to a dead man.¹

4 Kings xix : An angel slays 85,000 of Sennacherib's troops.²

4 Kings xx : Ezechias' life is prolonged by fifteen years, the shadow on the dial of Achaz going back ten degrees in proof of this.³

2 Paral. vii. 1 : Fire descends on Solomon's holocausts.⁴

2 Paral. xiv. 12 : Asa gains a miraculous victory over the Ethiopians.

2 Paral. xxvi. 19 : The miraculous leprosy of Azarias.

Dan. i. 15 : Miraculous preservation of the health of Daniel and his companions.

Dan. iii. 24, 48, 91, 93 : Their miraculous preservation in the furnace.

Dan. v : The writing on the wall.

Dan. vi : Daniel in the lions' den.

Dan. xiii. 45-50 : Daniel's miraculous knowledge.

Dan. xiv : Daniel again in the lions' den ; the transportation of the prophet Habacuc.

2 Macc. iii : The divine punishment of Heliodorus.

2 Macc. xv : A sword is divinely bestowed on Judas Maccabeus.

¹ *Cp.* Ecclus. xlviii. 14.

² *Cp.* 2 Paral. xxxii. and Isa. xxxvii.

³ *Cp.* 2 Paral. xxxii. and Isa. xxxviii.

⁴ *Cp.* 2 Macc. ii. 10.

CHAPTER IV

THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

- I. The Gradual Formation of the "Divine Library."
 - II. The Origin of the Canon.
 - i. The Traditional View of its Formation.
 - ii. The Modern View of its Formation.
 - III. Grounds for Accepting the Deuterocanonical Books.
 - i. Their Use in the New Testament.
 - ii. Their Use by the Fathers.
 - IV. The Church's Teaching on the Canon of the Old Testament.
- Bibliography.
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I. The Gradual Formation of the "Divine Library."

At first sight it might seem that the Bible furnishes singularly few hints concerning its own composition. For it is natural to ask: How did the written record of God's dealings with Israel, this "divine library," come to be drawn up? We read that Moses and Aaron *did all the wonders that are written*,¹ but it is not easy to say whether this refers to a contemporary written account of the plagues, or whether Moses is merely referring to what he has himself just set down in writing. Yet that Moses did write down events as they occurred is clear from his diary of the various stopping-places of the Israelites,² *which Moses wrote down according to the places of their encamping*; that he kept this journal at God's behest is suggested by the

¹ Exod. xi. 10.

² Num. xxxiii. 1-2.

express command to write the story of the victory over the Amalecites *for a memorial in a book*.¹ While the *Decalogue* was written by the finger of God Himself,² the *Book of the Covenant* was penned by Moses.³ Others, too, seem to have written accounts of events as they happened; thus, we read of the *Book of the Wars of the Lord*⁴ and of the *Book of Jashar* or *of the Just*.⁵ But what Moses wrote by divine command was regarded as an official volume of which the Levitical priests were the custodians;⁶ it should be noted that Moses' committal of this *Law* to writing is quite distinct from his writing of his *Canticle*.⁷ It seems clear, too, that it is this same official volume which is referred to so often in *Josue*.⁸ The same procedure seems to have been adopted by Samuel, who wrote the law of the kingdom "in the book" according to the pointed Hebrew text.⁹ These facts have to be borne in mind when discussing the story of the discovery of the law in the temple in the days of Josias.¹⁰

From the fact that these "books" were in the form of rolls¹¹ it is easy to see how they could be added to as occasion arose; that various collections were formed according to their contents is shown by the thrice-repeated reference in the *Prologue to Ecclesiasticus* to "the *Law*, the *Prophets*, and the *Writings*." Antiochus Epiphanes discovered that the most effective way of uprooting the religion of the Jews lay in destroying their sacred books¹²—

¹ Exod. xvii. 14, where the present pointed Hebrew text reads כְּסֵפֶר, "in the book," though the definite article finds no support in the LXX; note its omission in Jos. xxiv. 26, though it is present in 1 Sam. x. 25.

² Exod. xxiv. 12, xxxi. 18, xxxii. 15-16, xxxiv. 1, 28; cp. Deut. iv. 13, v. 22, ix. 10, x. 2, 4.

³ Exod. xxiv. 4, xxxiv. 27.

⁴ Num. xxi. 14.

⁵ Jos. x. 13; 2 Sam. i. 18.

⁶ Deut. xvii. 18, xxxi. 9, 24-26.

⁷ Deut. xxxi. 22.

⁸ Jos. i. 8, viii. 31, 34, xxiii. 6, xxiv. 26.

⁹ 1 Sam. x. 25.

¹⁰ 4 Kings xxiii-xxiv.

¹¹ Thus in Ps. xxxix. 8 we should read "in the roll of the book," not "in the head of the book," בְּמִנְיֶלֶת הַסֵּפֶר; cp. Isa. xxxiv. 4, Jer. xxxvi. 2, 4, Ezech. ii. 9, 1 Macc. iii. 48, as well as the implication contained in the very word "volume."

¹² 1 Macc. i. 59.

a futile step, since at that date these had already been, at least in great part, translated into Greek.

Apart from the actual committal of these books to writing, three important stages in the history of the Biblical text should be noted: (a) The formation of the versions; (b) the invention of the Hebrew vowel system; (c) the invention of printing. The earliest version is the so-called Septuagint (LXX), or Alexandrian Greek version. Its appearance was the signal for increased care for their sacred books on the part of the Jews, and from about the second century B.C. we find a body of Scribes whose duty it was to watch over the text.¹ After the close of the first century of the Christian era the Christian versions began to be made, at first from the Greek, later—by St. Jerome—from the Hebrew itself. Meanwhile the laborious work of the Scribes did not cease, and from the seventh to the ninth centuries we have the Massoretes, who created the cumbersome but invaluable system of vocalization which has preserved the traditional reading of the old Hebrew text. But long before this there had arisen the monastic copyists whose life's work it was faithfully to transcribe the text of the Bible. To their labours we owe the present wellnigh incredible number of MSS. of the Bible, whether in Greek or in Latin.² It was not only the monks who made these copies; we find a wealthy Spaniard, Lucinius, sending his own servants to St. Jerome to copy the Saint's translations of the Bible. St. Jerome writes to him:

"I have given them (the translations) to your servants to transcribe. I have seen the paper copies which they have made, and have repeatedly ordered them to correct them by a diligent comparison with the originals. . . . If you find errors or omissions which interfere with the sense, you must not impute these to me but to your own servants; for they are due to the ignorance or carelessness of copyists who write down, not what they find, but what they take to be the meaning, and who expose their own errors when they try to correct those of others."³

In our account of the Vulgate version we have described the labours of Alcuin who revised the Latin text;⁴ as also

¹ For further details see *s.v.* *Hebrew Bible*.

² See St. Chrysostom, *Hom.* xiv. 4 in 1 Tim. v., P.G. LXII. 576; K. Lake, *Greek Monasteries of S. Italy*, J.T.S., July-October, 1903.

³ *Ep.* lxxi.

⁴ *Cf. infra*, pp. 218, 219.

the “Correctories”¹ of the thirteenth century. With the fifteenth century came the invention of printing.

From all this it will be apparent that the Bible has been preserved in a way which finds no parallel in the case of any other book. For many classical works we are dependent on but one or two MSS. which in some cases date from a time long posterior to the date at which the original was written. Thus while it is unfortunately true that we have only few and late MSS. of the Hebrew Bible, this lack is counterbalanced by the immense number of early MSS. of the different versions.

II. The Origin of the Canon of the Bible.

The word “canon,” *Κάνων*, means “a rule” or “measure.”² Thus Apostolic truth and doctrine are opposed by the Fathers to heretical tenets as being the *canon traditionis* or “measure of tradition.” Hence the term came to be applied to those books which contained sound doctrine and which were thus regarded as the test or “measure” of such doctrine. By the time of Eusebius the term “canon” had come to mean the *list* of recognized books; thus he says that a certain Epistle is not “found in the canon.”³

i. The Traditional View on the Formation of the Canon of the Old Testament.—Anyone who compares a Protestant Bible with a Catholic one will find that the latter has seven more books in the Old Testament than the former, namely, *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Tobias*, *Judith*, *Baruch*, and the two *Books of Maccabees*; further, he will find that certain portions of *Esther* and of *Daniel* are omitted in the Protestant Bible. It is true that in some Protestant Bibles these books and portions of books are found at the end under the heading “Apocrypha,” but they are not considered to be canonical or inspired. The Catholic Church, on the contrary, accepts all these as of equal authority with the rest of the books.⁴

¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 219.

² See St. Paul's use of it, Gal. vi. 16, etc.

³ H.E. III. iii.

⁴ See Howorth, *Canon of the Continental Reformers*, J.T.S., January, 1908, also October, 1906, January, July, 1909; P.S.B.A. xxix. 1-2, 1907; also R.B., October, 1906.

The reason for this divergence lies in the fact that the Protestant Bible only contains those books which are to be found in the Hebrew Bible, whereas the Catholic Bible is based, not on the Hebrew or Jewish tradition, but on the Greek Jewish Bible used by our Lord and His Apostles. After the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 (588) the Jews were scattered; many of them found their way to Egypt, and there, in course of time, a translation of the Bible into Greek was formed.¹ It seems certain that the list of books considered authoritative in Palestine differed from that accepted in Egypt; hence it is customary to speak of the Hebrew and Greek canons respectively, or of the "first" and the "second" canons. Books found in the Hebrew Bibles as well as in the Greek are called "Proto-canonical," as belonging to the "first" canon; while those found only in the Greek Bibles are called "Deutero-canonical," as belonging to the "second" canon. It is these latter books which the Protestant Bibles call "Apocryphal," whereas Catholics confine that term to books which are to be rejected as not being inspired, for example, the *Assumption of Moses*, the *Gospel of Peter*, etc.²

It has been urged at times that, after all, the Jews were the best judges as to the contents of the Bible. But the Jews of Palestine were not more Jews than those in Alexandria; it remains to be proved, too, that the former did not receive the same books as those of Alexandria.³ The chief thing to be remembered, however, is that the Church has never tied herself down to the authority of the Jews on this or any other point of doctrine; she depends solely upon Apostolic tradition.

The ordinarily accepted view of the formation of the Old Testament canon is as follows:

¹ See under *Greek Versions*.

² It is usual now to distinguish between the Apocrypha or Deutero-canonical books, and the Pseudepigraphica or books assigned to Biblical personages in order to provide them with a ready-made authority; yet this is inconsistent, since *Wisdom*, or *The Wisdom of Solomon*, still ranks amongst the Apocrypha. See Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigraphica of the Old Testament*, 1913.

³ See *R.B.*, July, October, 1916, for Jewish ideas of revelation, canonicity, and inspiration; also 1896, pp. 408 and 575, for the Jewish canon.

(a) The books were, of course, written at different times.
 (b) Exod. xvii. 14 and Deut. xxxi. 9-13, 24-26 show the germ of a *collection*.

(c) Jos. xxiv. 25 and 1 Sam. x. 25 show how Moses' successors imitated him, and *added to the collection*.

(d) In 2 Par. xxix. 30 we have a hint regarding the successive steps in the formation of the collection now known as the Psalter, *i.e.* the Psalms of Asaph are added to the already existing collection of Davidic Psalms.

(e) The same activity in collecting the sacred writings is borne witness to in Prov. xxv. 1, where we are told that the men of Ezechias copied out other parables of Solomon.¹

(f) Dan. ix. 2 shows that Daniel knew of a *collection* of sacred books.

(g) Finally, in 2 Macc. ii. 13 we find it stated that Nehemias was strenuous in his efforts to form “a sacred library.”

The traditional view is that Esdras *closed the canon*—in other words, that no authoritative pronouncement was made in Palestine regarding the contents of the canon after the time of Esdras. The grounds for this assertion are:

(a) That after the time of Esdras the Jews had no official prophet.²

(b) That we know of no additions to the Hebrew canon after the prophecy of Malachias, who was probably contemporary with Esdras.

(c) In the tract *Baba Bathra* of the Talmud we have the following extraordinary statement:

“Moses wrote his book, the section of Balaam and Job; Josue wrote his book and the eight verses of the law; Samuel wrote his book and *Judges* and *Ruth*; David wrote the *Book of Psalms* with the aid of the ten ancients, with the aid of Adam the first, Melchisedec, Abraham, Moses, Heman, Jeduthun, Asaph, the three sons of Core; Jeremias wrote his book, the books of *Kings* and *Lamentations*; Ezechias and his company wrote *Isaias*, *Proverbs*, *Canticle of Canticles*, and *Ecclesiastes* . . . ; the men of the great synagogue wrote *Ezechiel* and the twelve (minor prophets), *Daniel*, and the roll of *Esther* . . . ; Esdras wrote his book and the genealogy of *Chronicles* down to himself.”

¹ Where note the LXX expression: *Αἱ παιδεῖαι Σαλαμῶντος αἱ διάκριτοι*, or “the *unquestioned* instructions of Solomon.”

² Cf. 1 Macc. iv. 46, ix. 27, and xiv. 41.

It is maintained that here the word "wrote" is not to be understood as meaning composition so much as authoritative confirmation. If this be so, then we can see in this passage the attribution of an act of *canonization* to Moses, Josue, Samuel, David, Jeremias, Ezechias and "his college," to the "men of the synagogue," and finally to Esdras.

(d) In the apocryphal 4 Esdras xiv. 18-47¹ we read that when all the sacred books had perished during the Exile Esdras won from God their complete restoration; God dictated to him ninety-four books in forty days; seventy of these he was told to hide, the remaining twenty-four he was told to publish. This apocryphal passage clearly indicates the existence of a tradition to the effect that Esdras in some sense settled the canon of the Old Testament.

It is often asserted that the Fathers depended absolutely on this passage when defending the canon; but it should be noted that while it is true that some of them, for example, Tertullian, St. Basil, Theodoret, Clement of Alexandria,² etc., do use it and depend on it, others, like St. Irenæus and St. Chrysostom, while making use of it, also use other sources as well, and are not entirely dependent on the passage from 4 Esdras. Others, again, for example St. Isidore and Pseudo-Athanasius, make no use of it whatever.

The undoubted existence, however, of the Alexandrian canon compels us to accept with caution the notion that Esdras did in any formal manner declare the canon closed. In fact some books were called in question at a later time by the Rabbis themselves, notably at the Council of Jamnia in A.D. 90 or 118,³ though it is possible that this Council

¹ "Ecclesia non recipit," St. Jerome, *Adv. Vigilantium*, 6, P.L. XXIII. 360.

² Thus note Tertullian speaking of Esdras as the restorer of "many instruments," *De Veste*, iii.; and St. Basil, *Ep.* xlii. 5, "Εσδρας πάσας τὰς θεοπνεύστους βιβλούς προστάγματι θεοῦ ἐξηρεύετο; cf. *Adv. Eunom.*, iv. 36, 40; Origen, *Selecta in Psalmos*, *Prol.*, ed. Delarue, II. 524, 539; Lactantius, *Epitome*, 48; St. Cyprian, *Ep.* lxxiii. 9; St. Ambrose, *De Obitu Satyris*, i. 65, 69.

³ After the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 R. Jochanan obtained leave from Vespasian for the Sanhedrin to settle down at Jamnia or Jabneh, where it practically administered Jewish affairs until the revolt under Bar Cocheba in A.D. 135. Amongst other points the Rabbis discussed the canonicity of certain books, viz. *Canticles*, *Qoheleth* or *Ecclesiastes*, *Esther*, *Ruth*, *Ezekiel*, *Proverbs*, *Jonas* and *Chronicles*. The

only discussed *how* certain books came to be canonical rather than *whether* they actually were so. It is also to be noted that some of the genealogies in *Chronicles* come down to a period later than that of Esdras himself. At the same time it would be uncritical to deny all weight to the statements regarding Esdras. Perhaps the following passage from Josephus shows us in what light we are to regard it:

"We have not among us an innumerable multitude of books disagreeing from and contradicting one another, but only twenty-two books, which contain the records of all the past times. These are justly believed to be divine. Of them five belong to Moses; they contain his laws and the traditions of the origin of mankind up to Moses' death, an interval of time little short of three thousand years. But as to the time from the death of Moses till the reign of Artaxerxes, king of Persia, who reigned after Xerxes, the prophets who were after Moses wrote down what was done in their time in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God and precepts for the conduct of human life. It is true that our history hath been written since Artaxerxes very carefully, but this hath not been esteemed of the like authority with the former by our forefathers, because there hath not been an exact succession of prophets since that time. How firmly we have given credit to those books of our nation is evident by our actions, for during so many ages as have already passed no one has been so bold as either to add anything to them or take anything from them, or to make any change in them whatever; but it becomes natural to all Jews, immediately from their very birth, to regard those books as containing divine doctrine, and to cling to them, and, if occasion arise, willingly to die for them."¹

Josephus clearly knows of other books besides those in the Hebrew canon, but he says that there has been no authoritative pronouncement regarding them "because there has been no exact succession (of prophets) since that time." That Josephus knew, for example, the *Books of Maccabees* is clear, for they constitute practically his sole authority for the period. But he did not know that they

dispute arose through the conflict between the hard and uncompromising principles of the school of Shammai and the broader views of the school of Hillel. The questions do not seem to have been settled with any finality, nor on grounds of authorship or date or external evidence. Their opposition to the Gospels and to Christian use of the Septuagint in controversy induced the Rabbis to arrange for a new translation by the Jewish proselyte Aquila. See Bacher in *H.D.B.* IV., s.v. *Sanhedrin*, and especially W. M. Christie in *J.T.S.*, July, 1925.

¹ *Contra Apion*, i. 8.

were inspired. And the same must, presumably, be said of the rest of the Palestinian Jews; they knew of these other books but had no means at their disposal for determining their canonicity. It was not until the "Prophet of Prophets" used the Greek Bible in which these books were contained that "a faithful prophet" could be said to have arisen who had the authority to decide the question. It is upon Him and His Apostles that the Christian Church depends, not upon the testimony of the Jewish Church from which "the glory had departed."

ii. The Modern View as to the Formation of the Old Testament Hebrew Canon.—In the Hebrew Bible we have the threefold division given above, namely "the *Law*, the *Prophets*, and the *Writings*." It is now maintained that in this threefold division we are to see the three steps which went to the formation of the canon; and an analysis of the contents of these three main divisions is said to lead to the following conclusions:

(a) *Deuteronomy* was "discovered"—if not, according to many critics, "fraudulently composed"—in 621 B.C.

(b) The Pentateuch as a whole was "promulgated" by Esdras¹ about 440 B.C.

(c) These two events may be considered as the "canonization" of the respective portions, for the "priestly code," that is the larger portion of *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, and *Numbers*, contains legislation later than *Deuteronomy*.

(d) The date of canonization of the "prophets," both the "former" and the "latter," cannot, since many of those books bear traces of the influence of *Deuteronomy*, be earlier than the "discovery" of the latter in 621. Their moralizing character caused them to be singled out, and we have an indication of this awakened interest in the prophetic writings in the story of Nehemias' zeal in collecting the sacred books.² Hence it may be said that all the prophetic writings were declared "canonical" between 300 and 150 B.C.

Having thus accounted for the first two divisions of the Bible according to modern notions, it remains to be seen how the third division—that, namely, of "the writings," or *Hagiographa*—came to be regarded as canonical.

¹ Neh. viii.

² 2 Macc. ii. 13.

(e) Some “writings” would, it is thought, stand out as pre-eminent, and might therefore have been regarded as an appendix to the *Law* and the *Prophets*. Their value would be realized when Antiochus Epiphanes in 167 B.C. attempted to destroy the collections,¹ while in the reference to Nehemias’ zeal we seem to have a reminiscence of some such “collecting” and of the probable canonization of such books.

(f) This hypothesis would explain, it is thought, the peculiar character of the contents of the “writings,” or *Hagiographa*. How else, it is asked, can we explain such facts as that—

(i.) *Ruth*, *Esther*, and 1-2 *Chronicles* are not among the “former prophets” or the historical books?

(ii.) Similarly, that *Daniel* and *Lamentations* are not among the “latter prophets”?

(g) And this view is confirmed, so it is held, by the disputes at Jamnia relative to the canonicity of such books as *Canticles*, *Esther*, *Ecclesiastes* and 1-2 *Chronicles*.

(h) It is further urged that most of these books might easily remain for a long time without definite canonization owing to the fact that they were not really liturgical and hence not in public use.

We need not criticize these views in detail: it may be sufficient to remark in general that it is precarious to argue from the *present* divisions of the Hebrew Bible. The Septuagint bears witness to an order which accords far more with that in use in our Latin Bibles; for though nearly every MS. has a different order as regards individual books, yet the great threefold division in the Hebrew Bibles is, in the Septuagint, conspicuous by its absence. Moreover, the Septuagint order witnesses to a tradition much older than that of the present Hebrew Massoretic text. At the same time it is true that the threefold division is as old as the *Prologue* to *Ecclesiasticus*, about 132 B.C. Still, we have no means of deciding what were, according to the writer of the *Prologue*, the precise contents of each division. It is possible that the omission from Ecclus. xlix. 1 of *Daniel*, *Esdras*, and *Esther* may show that the canonicity of their books was not at that time (c. 180 B.C.) known at Alexandria.

¹ 1 Macc. i. 56, 57.

And this confirms the view we have stated above when giving Josephus' testimony to the contents of the canon in his time. Since the cessation of prophecy there had been no means of securing a definite pronouncement on books written subsequent to the time of Artaxerxes, and it is in this sense true that Esdras may have made some definite pronouncement regarding the contents of the canon. But these books were known in the country which gave them birth, whether Palestine or Egypt. Thus Philo, while never quoting the *Deuterocanonica* as authorities, yet shows a knowledge of them, and his language is tinged by them; no argument, indeed, can be drawn from his not quoting them, for, apart from the Pentateuch, he appears to make no distinction between the sacred and profane books. Similarly, Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus knew the fragments of *Daniel*; Josephus quotes *Esther*; Origen tells us that *Baruch* was in his time joined to *Jeremias*, and this after he has given the Hebrew canon; similarly, St. Epiphanius tells us of the honour in which *Ecclesiasticus* was held, and this, too, after enumerating the books of the Hebrew canon.

III. The Grounds for accepting the Deuterocanonical Books.

As already stated, these books had a place in the Alexandrian canon, as shown in the Septuagint, the Greek Bible in use at the time of our Lord. Now while we cannot say that He expressly quoted any of the books exclusively found in the Greek Bible, yet there can be no question that the New Testament is in many places tinged with the language of these books, and in one place at least an argument in favour of a dogmatic point is derived from one of them.¹ It should be remembered, too, that outside Palestine the Jews could not use the Hebrew Bible, but were accustomed everywhere to the Greek text, and consequently to the peculiarly Greek books. Hence it is that St. Paul, with two exceptions, always quotes from the LXX, though it is true that he often does so from memory

¹ Cp. Heb. i. 3 and Wisd. vii. 26 in the Greek text, and the list of passages in the New Testament which show traces of the *Deuterocanonica*, see below.

only, and that consequently his quotations cannot always be clearly referred either to the Hebrew or the Greek.

Further, it should be noted that the early Fathers were all accustomed to the same version; with the exception of Origen, hardly one of them had even a smattering of Hebrew. And there can be no doubt that the translation of the Bible into Greek was, under divine Providence, a most potent factor in the conversion of the world to Christianity. It had served to make known to the Gentile world the sacred books of the Hebrews, and now when the Messiah had come the Apostles could turn to a Bible which was readily accessible to all, and which supported their assertion that this same Messiah had been foretold from the beginning of the world.

i. The Use of the Deuterocanonica in the New Testament.—As already remarked, these books are not definitely quoted, save in the one instance mentioned, in the New Testament, but—

(a) They do not lend themselves to quotation in the New Testament, since they do not contain the greater Messianic passages.

(b) Some even of the Protocanonical books are not quoted, for example, *Ecclesiastes*, *Esther*, *Canticles*, *Esdra*s, *Nehemias*, etc.

(c) We give a series of passages which show traces of the *Deuterocanonica*, premising, however, that many of these traces can only be detected in the original text:

1. Matt. xiii. 43 ...	...	...	Wisd. iii. 7.
2. Matt. xvi. 27 ...	...	...	Ecclus. xxxii. 19 (LXX).
3. Matt. xxvii. 39-42 ...	...	...	Wisd. ii. 13-20.
4. Luke xii. 19, 29 ...	...	...	Ecclus. xi. 19-20 (LXX).
5. John i. 1, 14 ...	...	...	Ecclus. xxiv. 8 (LXX).
6. John vi. 35 ...	...	...	Ecclus. xxiv. 21 (LXX).
7. Rom. i. 20-32 ...	...	...	Wisd. xiii. 1-4.
8. Rom. v. 12 ...	...	...	Ecclus. xxv. 24 (LXX).
9. Rom. ix. 21 ...	...	...	Wisd. xv. 7-8.
10. Rom. xi. 34 and 1 Cor. ii. 6	...	...	Wisd. ix. 13.
11. Rom. xiii. 1 ...	...	...	Wisd. vi. 4.
12. 1 Cor. ii. 10 ...	...	...	Judith viii. 14.
13. 1 Cor. vi. 2 ...	...	...	Wisd. iii. 8.
14. 2 Cor. ix. 7 ...	...	...	Ecclus. xxxii. 9 (LXX).
15. Eph. vi. 13 ...	...	...	Wisd. v. 17-18.
16. Heb. i. 3 ...	...	...	Wisd. vii. 26.
17. Heb. iv. 12-13 ...	...	...	Wisd. vii. 22-25.
18. 1 Pet. i. 6-7 ...	...	...	Wisd. iii. 5-6.

ii. The Testimony of the Fathers to the Deuterocanonica.— Briefly, we find St. Clement of Rome quoting, or at least alluding to, *Judith*, *Tobias*, *Wisdom*, and *Ecclesiasticus*. In the *Shepherd of Hermas* there are at least twenty allusions to *Ecclesiasticus*, *Wisdom*, and 2 *Maccabees*. Passing to a later period still, we find that Hippolytus knows the fragments of *Daniel*, *Tobias*, 1-2 *Maccabees*, *Wisdom*, and *Baruch*. The same must be said of St. Irenæus. It is the same in Africa; Clement of Alexandria,¹ Tertullian, and St. Cyprian are well acquainted with them all and use them frequently. Origen² even wrote a defence of their canonicity which has come down to us in his *Letter to Africanus*. For him the Septuagint is divine, and its contents have Apostolic authority. In the little treatise *De Oratione* he quotes *Wisdom* four times, *Tobias* four times, and *Judith* twice.

Indeed it may be said that the evidence of these Fathers is so clear in favour of the *Deuterocanonica* that were it not for the subsequent action of St. Jerome there would now be no question as to the absolute right of these books to a place in the canon. It is often objected, however, that on these lines we ought to allow a place in the canon to such books as the *Shepherd* and the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* since they are often referred to by the Fathers; but it may be remarked that—

- (a) No apocryphal book is used by the Fathers *persistently*.
- (b) Nor for any length of time in the Church.
- (c) No one of them is *insisted* on as canonical by any Father.
- (d) None were *widely* received.
- (e) There are only incidental quotations of these books, and Fathers occasionally question whether they really are canonical.

The books mentioned above belong to New Testament times; instances where Old Testament Apocrypha are quoted by the Fathers are rare. It should be noted, too, that these

¹See Hart, *Ecclesiasticus, the Greek Text of Cod. 248*, ch. iii., Cambridge, 1909; *H.E.* VI. xiii. 14; *R.B.*, 1895, pp. 468 ff. and 630 ff.; 1898, p. 300.

²Hart, *loc. cit.*, p. 347, and see Origen on Rom. ii. 13, *Contra Celsum*, III. 2, 12, VI. 7, VII. 72, tom. xvii. 25 in Matt., also *Hom.* on Jer. xv. 5.

Fathers were far too well aware of the importance of what they said to have risked quoting the Deuterocanonical books had they not had good reasons for what they did.

At a later time, however, doubts began to arise in the Church as to the real position of the books which did not occur in the Hebrew Bible; controversy with the Jews undoubtedly showed that there were books accepted by Christians but rejected by Jews. It might seem an overwhelming argument that books to which the Christians triumphantly referred were after all not in the Hebrew Bible. Hence we find that in the fourth century doubts about the canonicity of such books had arisen with a consequent tendency to range these books apart as ecclesiastical rather than as canonical.

Thus we find St. Athanasius saying:

"Since some have endeavoured to reduce to order the apocryphal books, as they are called, and have also endeavoured to insert them amongst the divinely inspired Scriptures which we have received from sure witnesses, as they have been handed down to us by the Fathers who were witnesses from the beginning and were ministers of the word, it seemed fitting for me, too, at the instigation of the brethren, to set down from the commencement and in order, as I have learnt it, the books which belong to the canon, which are handed down to us, and which, moreover, are believed to be divine; so that any who have been led astray may be able to refute their seducers, and those who have kept themselves unspotted may joyfully commit them to memory."¹

St. Athanasius then declares that there are twenty-two books "according to the letters of the Hebrew alphabet; yet it is not the Hebrew canon which he enumerates, for he gives *Baruch* and the *Epistle of Jeremias*, books which certainly never had a place in the Hebrew canon; moreover, he never refers to *Hebrew* tradition, but to the testimony of the "Fathers . . . who were ministers of the word."

He gives the New Testament canon in the same order as ours, except that he inserts the Catholic Epistles before the Pauline. He concludes with the words:

"These are the fountains of salvation . . . let no one add to or subtract from them. . . . But for the sake of greater accuracy I

¹ For the reception accorded in Egypt to this declaration on the canon see *E.E.F.*, 1910-1911, p. 66.

think it necessary to add that there are also certain other books which are not included in the canon; these the Fathers appointed to be read by those who have lately approached (the Church) and who are eager to be instructed and learn pious doctrine: the *Wisdom of Solomon* and the *Wisdom of Sirach*, *Esther*, *Judith*, *Tobias*, the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, and the *Shepherd*. Whereas, however, the former are included in the canon and the latter are appointed to be read, there is no mention of the *Apocrypha*, which are nothing but the fictions of heretics, who compose books after their own likings and assign dates to them so as to deceive simple souls by a fictitious appearance of antiquity."¹

St. Athanasius, then, regarded the books of the Old Testament as falling into three groups—the canonical, the ecclesiastical, and the apocryphal. And though he does not regard those in the second class as of equivalent rank with those in the first, yet he looks upon them as worthy of all respect and as very different from the "Apocrypha." The same division is to be found in the *Synopsis of Sacred Scripture* long attributed to St. Athanasius, and undoubtedly composed about his time. It occurs again in the *Catechetical Lectures* of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, who tells his hearers that they must be—

"careful to learn—and that from the Church—which are the books of the Old and the New Testaments, and must have nothing to do with the Apocrypha. For when you do not even know those books which all acknowledge, what is the good of wasting time over those which are doubtful? Read the divine Scriptures, those twenty-two books of the Old Testament which the seventy interpreters translated."

He then narrates the story of the formation of the Greek translation, and adds:

"Read their twenty-two books, and have nothing to do with the Apocrypha. Carefully meditate these alone, for we receive them in the Church with all confidence. Much wiser and much more careful than you were the Apostles and Bishops of old, the rulers of the Church, who have handed them down. You, then, as a son of the Church, transgress not her laws. Meditate, as we have said, the twenty-two books of the Old Testament, and if you are anxious to learn, fix them in your memory as I mention them each by name."

He then gives the names according to the Hebrew list, though not in the same order, and with the addition of *Baruch* and the *Epistle*; ² after which he gives those of the New Testament, omitting the Apocalypse. He concludes

¹ *Ep.* xxxix., ap. Mansi, *Concilia*, III. 11 9.

² IV. 33-36.

by saying: "All the rest belong to the second rank; but those which are not read in the Church do not even read in private."

Rufinus in the Latin Church held the same views. Like St. Athanasius, Pseudo-Athanasius and St. Cyril, he distinguishes between the canonical books and the ecclesiastical (amongst which in the New Testament he enumerates the *Shepherd* and the *Dux Viæ*, or *Judgement of Peter*). He concludes by saying: "All the rest are called 'Apocryphal,' and are not read in the Church. These things have been handed down to us by the Fathers."¹

St. Jerome's views on the Old Testament canon are not so clear as those would have it who reject the Deuterocanonical books on his authority. Yet there can be no doubt that he did explicitly reject them.

"As, then, the Church reads *Judith*, *Tobias*, and the books of *Maccabees*, but does not admit them among the canonical Scriptures, so let it read these two volumes (*viz.* *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus*) for the edification of the people, not as sources of authority in the Church."²

Again, after enumerating the canonical books according to the order and contents of the Hebrew Bibles, he says:

"This preface to the Scriptures may serve as a 'helmeted' introduction to all the books which we translate from Hebrew into Latin, so that we may be assured that what is not found in our list must be placed among the apocryphal writings. *Wisdom*, therefore, which generally bears the name of Solomon, and the book of Jesus, the son of *Sirach*, and *Judith*, *Tobias*, and the *Shepherd*, are not in the canon. The first book of *Maccabees* I have found to be Hebrew, the second is Greek, as can be proved from the very style."³

Elsewhere he passes in review all the books of the Old Testament according to the Hebrew canon, and he gives no hint that there are any others.⁴

But in spite of these positive assertions there are many passages in his writings which show that St. Jerome's views on the subject of the canonicity of the Deuterocanonical books were by no means consistent. In the first place he uses the term "Apocrypha" in widely different ways; thus he speaks of the *Epistle of St. Barnabas* as being "composed

¹ *Symbol. Apost.*, 36.

² *Preface to his Translation of the Sapiential Books*; also *Pref. to the Book of Samuel*, P.L. XXVIII. 556-557.

³ *Prologus Galeatus*.

⁴ *Ep.* liii. 8.

for the *edification* of the Church,"¹ and yet says in another place that "it is read amongst the *apocryphal* Scriptures";² similarly he speaks of *Judith* as being "apocryphal" and (therefore) "as of less weight in deciding controversies."³ It will be noticed that here he seems to use the terminology with which we have become familiar from St. Athanasius, etc., and divides the books of the Bible into canonical, ecclesiastical, and apocryphal. Again, he often speaks as though in doubt about the canonicity of the Deuterocanonical books: thus, arguing against the Pelagians from *Ecclesiasticus*, *Ecclesiastes* and *Wisdom*, he feels bound to confirm these arguments by citations from *Romans*, "lest, perchance, anyone should object to this volume (*Ecclesiasticus*)."⁴ He makes the same qualifications when quoting *Judith* and *Tobias*; of the latter he remarks that he has used it as an argument "because, though not in the canon, it is yet used by Churchmen."⁴

The same feature appears in his treatment of the Deuterocanonical portions of *Daniel*. Eusebius and Apollinarius had, he points out, conceded to Porphyry that "the fables of Susanna, Bel and the dragon were not in the Hebrew . . . consequently when I translated *Daniel* a few years ago I marked these visions with an obelus to show they were not in the Hebrew. . . . Now Origen, Eusebius and Apollinarius ought not to have defended against Porphyry portions that have no authority in Holy Scripture." Since, however, critics have condemned Jerome for making use of these obeli and asterisks in his translation of *Daniel*, he replies: "Since all the Churches of Christ, Greeks, Latins, Syrians and Egyptians, read Origen's edition with its asterisks and obeli, then why be so jealous of my toil since I have only wanted my readers to have what the Greeks have in the editions of Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus?"⁵ But in his commentary St. Jerome does not feel justified in passing over these Deuterocanonical portions; thus on the Song of the Three Children, Dan. iii. 26 ff., he

¹ *Vir. Illustr.*, VI.

² *Contra Helvid.*, 8; *Contra Vigil.*, 6; *Adv. Ruf.*, I. 27

³ *Ep.* cvii. 12.

⁴ *Contra Pelag.*, I. 33; *Ep.* liv. 16; in *Agg.* I. 5; *Prol. in Jonam*

⁵ *Prol. in Danielelem*, P.L. XXV. 492-493.

says: “So far in Hebrew; what follows is not in Hebrew, but lest I should appear to pass it over altogether I must say a few words about it.”¹ So too when he comes to the story of Susanna he says, “So far in Hebrew, the rest down to the end is translated from Theodotion’s edition”; but his commentary is exceedingly brief, so much so that in ch. xiv. he only comments on ver. 40.²

But it is still more noteworthy that he often quotes these Deuterocanonical books without any apparent doubts as to their canonicity. Thus in the first six chapters of his commentary on *Isaias*³ he quotes *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus* at least six times; he terms them “our books” as opposed to Greek profane writings also quoted; he calls them “sacred Scripture,” says that they teach us certain precepts, and quotes them on a par with Protocanonical books under the formula “it is written.” The same thing is to be noted in his other commentaries and in his epistles;⁴ in fine, as Cornely well says, “there is no book or fragment of the second canon which he does not use with reverence and as a divine authority.”⁵ The reason for this fluctuation in his opinions is not far to seek. Brought up in the West, he had always been accustomed to regard the Deuterocanonical books as of equal authority with the Protocanonical, but—carried away by his Hebrew studies—he came to regard the Hebrew Bible as the sole standard of authority. These views he especially insisted on in his earlier writings. He would appear, however, to have been influenced by the declarations of the Councils of Hippo and Carthage, and hence modified his opinion in his later works.⁶ In his later commentaries, for example in that on *Isaias*,⁷ he quotes—as we have seen—

¹ *Ibid.* 509.

² *Ibid.* 584.

³ *In Isa.* ii. 24, iii. 3, 7, 14, vi. 5. Thus note St. Isidore of Seville (*d.* 636): “These are the ‘things new and old’ which come forth from the treasury of the Lord: these sacred books, these books complete in number and authority. With them nothing else can be compared; whatsoever is outside their number is not to be reckoned among the holy and divine things” (*Originum*, lib. vi. ; cf. *De Offic. Eccles.*, i., *Prol.*, for Hebrew traditions touching the authorship of the various books).

⁴ *Ep.* lviii. 1, lxii. 5, cviii. 16, 22, cxviii. 1, 4, cxxv. 19, etc.

⁵ *Ep.* lxv. 1, lxxix. 11, xxi. 21, cxxx. 4, etc. Cornely, *Introd. in S. Script.*, I. 107.

⁶ *Preface to the Translation of the Sapiential Books.*

⁷ Written A.D. 410.

the Deuterocanonical books as authorities, and that without hesitation. And it should be noted that his very wavering is the best proof of the Christian tradition in favour of the Deuterocanonical books; the Church has never confined herself to the authority of one doctor, and it is at least remarkable that all through St. Jerome's life we have repeated ecclesiastical and patristic testimonies in favour of the canonicity of the books of the second canon.¹ Thus no more illustrative commentary on St. Jerome's attitude towards the Deuterocanonical books could be furnished than the appeal of St. Exuperius, Bishop of Toulouse, to Pope Innocent I. in A.D. 401. St. Jerome held this Bishop in high esteem,² and especially commends him for his study of the Bible, he even dedicated to him his *Commentary on Zacharias*.³ Consequently Jerome's views about the canon must have been well known to Exuperius, and, if we are to judge from his appeal to the Pope, caused him considerable anxiety. He asked the Pope seven questions, of which the first six are rather disciplinary than doctrinal. Innocent prefaces his reply by saying: "You have chosen to refer doubtful questions to the Apostolic See rather than decide them for yourself"; the seventh of these "doubtful questions" concerned the contents of the canon of Scripture, on which point the Apostolic See must have been familiar with Jerome's views. Yet Innocent replies: "The accompanying list will show you what books are to be received into the canon; this is what you desired to know: Moses, 5 books, i.e. *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, *Deuteronomy*, and *Jesus Nave*, 1; *Judges*, 1; *Kingdoms*, 4 books, and *Ruth*. The *Prophets*, 16 books; *Solomon*, 5 books. The *Psalter*. Of histories: *Job*, 1 book; *Tobias*, 1; *Esther*, 1; *Judith*, 1; *Maccabees*, 2; *Esdras*, 2; *Paralipomenon*, 2." The catalogue of the New Testament follows, also a condemnation of many New Testament Apocrypha.⁴

¹ See *J.T.S.*, July, 1909; April, 1910; October, 1914.

² *Ep.* liv. 11, cxxv. 20.

³ *Prol. to Commentary on Zacharias*, P.L. XXV. 1417.

⁴ *Mansi, Concilia*, III. 1040-1041.

IV. The Church's Teaching on the Canon of the Old Testament.

We have already touched incidentally on this point, and what has been said will serve to explain as well the action of the Church in deciding the contents of the canon as the—at times conflicting—views of various Fathers on the subject.

We learn the Church's teaching from her definite documents and pronouncements; but these only mirror the teaching of the age in which they were formulated. Hence, while accepting without hesitation the formal decisions of the Church, we are—if we would defend her teaching against those who impugn it—bound to see how far the literature of the early Church, as it has come down to us, bears out the ultimate decisions at which the Church has arrived.

But first it will be well to realize how repeated are the Church's pronouncements—whether conciliar or through her doctors—on the contents of the canon. Catholics do not need to be reminded that the Church does not arrive at a certain decision *because* some previous Council so said; the Church is coeval with all her Councils and all her doctors; thus, such a statement as that “the Council of Hippo (A.D. 393) and that of Carthage (A.D. 397) . . . was (*sic*) the chief authority on which the Council of Trent based its own decision”¹ is misleading. The following, then, are the principal declarations made by the Church regarding the contents of the canon of the Old Testament:

i. *The Council of Nicæa*.—There are solid reasons for thinking that this Council published a list of the canonical books:

(a) St. Jerome says² that he has consented to translate *Judith* because the Bishops have, contrary to the Hebrew canon, included it in the canon.

(b) Cassiodorus argues concerning the mystical number of the books from the “Synods of Nicæa and Chalcedon.”³

¹ Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, I., p. iv.

² *Pref. to Judith and Tobias*.

³ *De Institutione Divinarum Litterarum*, xiv., P.L. LXX. 1125; Cassiodorus died shortly after A.D. 575.

(c) The thirty-sixth canon of the Council of Hippo is, in some texts, furnished with the title: "that, besides the Catholic Scriptures, nothing should be read in church (according to the twenty-fourth canon of Nicæa)."¹

But no trace of this canon is now to be found.

ii. *The Council of Laodicea*, c. 363. Such grave doubts have been thrown on the lists purporting to emanate from this Council—they vary, indeed, in every MS.—that we may well leave them out of consideration.

iii. *The Council of Hippo* (A.D. 393, confirmed in the Council of Carthage, A.D. 397) has the following declaration: "It was also decided that besides the canonical Scriptures nothing should be read under the title of *Scripture* in the Church. And the canonical Scriptures are the following": there then follows a list in all respects identical with that of Trent: "the *five* books of Solomon," i.e. *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus* are included; also *Tobias*, *Judith*, *Esther*, and the two books of *Maccabees*; *Baruch*, of course, is included under *Jeremias*.²

At the close we read the significant words: "Yet let the Church across the seas be consulted as regards the confirmation of this canon." What is meant by "the Church across the seas" is clear from the declaration of the Council held at Carthage in A.D. 419, in which the same list of books was repeated with the exception of *Ezekiel*—an omission due apparently to an oversight on the part of some copyist. The decrees close with the words:

"Let this also be made known to our brother and fellow-priest, the holy Boniface, Bishop of the city of Rome, or to other Bishops of those parts, for the confirmation of this canon, for we have learnt from our Fathers that we should read these in the Church."³

iv. See above for the same canon given by Pope Innocent I. to Exuperius in A.D. 401. A similar canon is attributed either to Pope Damasus (366-384), or to Pope Gelasius (492-496), or to Pope Hormisdas (514-523). The arguments for attributing it to Pope Damasus are strong, in

¹ Mansi, *Concilia*, III. 936.

² *Canon*, xlvii.; Mansi, *Concilia*, III. 891; *cp. ibid.* 723 and IV. 430 so, too, at the Council of Hierapolis, *ibid.* VI. 486.

³ *Ibid.* IV. 891.

spite of the fact that the list does not agree with the views of his secretary, St. Jerome.¹

v. St. Augustine says:

“The whole canon of Scripture is contained in the following books: the five *books of Moses* . . . one of *Josue Nave*, one of *Judges*, one which is termed *Ruth* and which seems rather to belong to the beginning of *Kingdoms*; then four books of *Kingdoms*, and two of *Paralipomenon* which do not follow upon the former but rather run parallel with them and have the same aim. So far the history, which gives the dates appended and the order of events. There are other histories, apparently of a different kind; they neither follow the order of time nor are they connected with one another. Such are *Job*, *Tobias*, *Esther*, *Judith*, the two *books of Maccabees* and the two of *Esdras*, which latter seem to follow the ordinary history ending with *Kingdoms* and *Paralipomena*. Then come the *Prophets*, among whom *David* with the one book of *Psalms*, and *Solomon* with his three, *Proverbs*, *Canticle of Canticles*, and *Ecclesiastes*. For the other two, called *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus*, are only termed *Solomon's* from a certain similarity (to his work) . . . none the less, since they have been accounted authoritative, they are included amongst the *Prophets*. The remainder are the books of those who are strictly termed prophets: first each of the twelve prophets; they are connected together and—since they have never been separated—are counted as one book . . .; then come the four prophets who have written at greater length, *Isaias*, *Jeremias*, *Daniel* and *Ezechiel*. In these forty-four books² of the Old Testament you have the authoritative writings of the Old Testament.”³

For St. Augustine, of course, the one unassailable principle or criterium of canonicity was the testimony of the living Church. This was a question he had to face again and again in his disputations with the Manicheans: “The moment I quote against you the Gospel of Matthew—who was Christ's Apostle and who gives the whole story of His birth—you at once declare it is not Matthew's, though the Universal Church which comes down from the Apostolic Sees to the present Bishops in unbroken (*certa*) succession declares that it is his.”⁴ A concrete example of Augustine's

¹ *Ibid.* VIII. 145-152; see Dom de Bruyne, O.S.B., and Dom John Chapman, O.S.B., in the *Revue Bénédictine*, 1913, pp. 187-267, 315-333; *R.B.*, October, 1913; *J.T.S.*, October, 1914.

² St. Augustine presumably united *Baruch* and *Lamentations* with *Jeremias*.

³ *De Doctrina Christiana*, II. viii. 13; cf. *Ep.* lxiv. 3; *Contra Faustum*, xiii. 5, 6, xvii. 3, xxii. 79, xxviii. 2, 4; *P.L.* XLII.; also *Contra Cresconium*, ii. 39; *Contra Adimantum*, xvii. 2, 5; *P.L.* XLII. 159.

⁴ *Contra Faustum*, xxviii. 2; cf. 4 and iii. 4, *Doctr. Christ.* II. viii. and *cp.* St. Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* III. ii. 3-4.

application of these principles is furnished in his treatment of the *Book of Wisdom*. Some had quarrelled with him for quoting the words *Raptus est ne malitia mutaret intellectum ejus* "on the ground that the quotation was not from a canonical book . . .," but Augustine answers that "a statement from the *Book of Wisdom* ought not to be rejected, since that book has merited to be read from the Lector's pulpit in the Church of Christ down the long course of years, and has—by Christians of all types, from Bishops down to the lowliest of the laity, *viz.* the penitents and the catechumens—been listened to with the veneration due to divine authority."¹

vi. This same canon again appears in the *Council of Florence*, A.D. 1438:

"The Holy Roman Church professes that one and the same God is the author of the Old and of the New Testaments, that is of the Law and the Prophets and the Gospels; since the holy men of either Testament spoke under the inspiration of the same Spirit; their books the Church receives and venerates, and they are contained in the following list."²

But it was not till the time of the Reformation, when the so-called reformers had indulged in the most extravagant views regarding canonicity, that the Church, in the Council of Trent, formally discussed the actual status to be assigned to the Deuterocanonical books, that is, those which did not find a place in the Hebrew Bibles. Some proposed to distinguish different grades of inspiration, assigning a higher degree to the Protocanonical books; but this view did not prevail, and in spite of the influence of St. Jerome's views—for to him and his rejection of the Deuterocanonica these ideas were due—it was decided to put all the books, whether derived from the first or from the second canon, on the same footing.

vii. We give the decree of the Council in full:

"The Holy, Œcumenical, and General Synod of Trent . . . having ever before its eyes the removal of error and the preservation of the truth of the Gospel in the Church—that Gospel which, promised

¹ *De Prædestinatione Sanctorum*, xiv. (26-29), P.L. XLIV. 979-981.

² *The Decree for the Jacobites, or the Bull of Pope Eugenius IV.*, "*Cantate Domino.*"

beforehand through the prophets in the Holy Scriptures, our Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, first promulgated with His own mouth and then ordered to be preached to every creature by His Apostles, as being the fountain of all saving truth and moral instruction; seeing, moreover, that this truth and instruction is contained in written books and in unwritten traditions which were received by the Apostles from the very mouth of Christ, or were delivered—as it were by hand—by the Apostles themselves at the dictation of the Holy Spirit; this same Holy Synod, following the example of the orthodox Fathers, receives and venerates with equal devotion and reverence all the books of both the Old and the New Testaments, since the one God is the author of both, as also the aforesaid traditions, whether pertaining to faith or to morals, as delivered by the very mouth of Christ or dictated by the Holy Spirit, and preserved in the Catholic Church by the unfailing succession. And lest any doubt should arise as to which are the books received by this Synod, it has seemed good to append to this decree a list of them. The following, then, are the books of the Old Testament:

“The five books of Moses, namely *Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy*; then *Josue, Judges, Ruth*; the four books of *Kings*, the two books of *Paralipomena*, the two of *Esdra*s—the first, namely, and the second, which is also called *Nehemias*; *Tobias, Judith, Esther, Job*; the Davidic psalter of 150 *Psalms*; *Parables (Proverbs), Ecclesiastes, Canticle of Canticles, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus*; *Isaias, Jeremias, Baruch, Ezechiel, Daniel*; the twelve minor prophets, namely *Osee, Joel, Amos, Abdias, Jonas, Micheas, Nahum, Habacuc, Sophonias, Aggeus, Zacharias, Malachias*; the two books of *Maccabees*, namely the first and the second.

“If anyone shall not receive these entire books with all their parts, as they have been wont to be read in the Catholic Church, and as they are contained in the old Latin edition, and whosoever shall knowingly and of set purpose (*prudens*) condemn the aforesaid traditions, let him be *anathema*.¹

¹ It should always be borne in mind that a Council only combats errors then prevalent. Hence Trent made no declaration on the fact or nature of inspiration, because, as Dr. Gasser, Bishop of Brescia, said at the Vatican Council: “The adversaries at the time of that Council were Protestants, who not only did not deny the inspiration of the sacred books, but were wont, if anything, to exaggerate it, for they extended divine inspiration not merely to clauses, but to individual words and even syllables, so much so that, had the punctuation dated from Apostolic days, they would have extended inspiration even to it! Consequently, Trent had no occasion for accurate definition of inspiration; it merely confirmed the decree of Florence. But, on the other hand, the same Council of Trent had to deal with Protestants who wanted to expunge certain books from the canon, and even wished to eliminate portions of other books. Hence the sole preoccupation of the Fathers at Trent was to insist that all the books of the Old and New Testaments, as presented in their entirety in the Vulgate Latin edition, were to be held sacred and canonical” (*Acta ante Sess. Tertiam, Collectio Lacensis Concil. Vatic. VII., col. 139*).

APPROXIMATE DATES OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS: FATHERS AND WRITERS WHO WITNESS TO THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

DATE.	WEST.	EAST.	CARTHAGE.	ALEXANDRIA.
A.D. 30-50		Co. of Jerusalem, ? A.D. 49. ¹ Josephus, 37-100		Philo, 27 B.C.—A.D. 40
50-70	Martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul, 67	Simon Magus, c. 70		
70-120	St. Clem. of Rome, d. 98 <i>Ep. to Diognetus</i> , ? 117	Co. of Jamnia, ? 100 Cerinthus, Ebion, and the Ebionites, c. 100 <i>Ep. of Barnabas</i> , c. 120		
120-140	Marcion, c. 140 <i>Apologies</i> of Quad- ratus and Aris- tides, c. 120	St. Ignatius of Antioch, d. 107 or 115		
140-160	St. Justin, 148 <i>The Shepherd</i> of Hermas, ? 142 Valentinus and Heracleon, c. 130-140 Tatian, c. 110-180	Syriac verss., c. 150 St. Polycarp, d. ? 155 Tatian	Old Latin verss., c. 150	
160-180	<i>Canon of Mura- tori</i> , c. 165 Melito, fl. 176		Tertullian, c. 160-220	Pantænus, c. 170 Clement of Alex., 169-218 Origen
180-200	St. Irenæus, fl. 180 Athenagoras, c. 177	St. Irenæus, fl. 180 St. Theophilus, c. 182	Origen, 184-253	
200-240	Hippolytus, c. 220	St. Greg. Thau- mat., c. 230		Denis of Alex., c. 230
240-270			St. Cyprian, d. 258	
270-300			Mani and the Ma- nichæans, 277	
300-350		Methodius, c. 311 Eusebius, 270-340 Co. of Nicæa, 325 St. Cyril of Jer., 315-386		St. Athanasius, 329-373
350-400	Rufinus, d. 410 St. Jerome, 342-420 St. Augustine, 354-430	St. Jerome St. Ephraem, d. 378 St. Greg. Nazianz., d. 389 Theodore of Mop- suestia, d. 429	St. Augustine	
400-450				

¹ See vol. v., p. 384.

"Further, the same Holy Synod, considering that it will be no small gain to the Church of God if of all the Latin editions of the sacred Scriptures which are in circulation it be clearly made known which is to be considered authentic, decrees and declares that this same old and common (*vulgata*) edition which has been approved of in the Church by the use of long centuries is to be held as authentic in public lectures, disputations, preachings, and expositions ; and that no one is to dare or presume to reject it upon any pretext whatever."¹

Bibliography.

In addition to the articles in the various dictionaries, especially in Vigouroux's dictionary, and the treatises in the various *Introductions*, e.g. that by Cornely, the following authorities may be consulted. Loisy's volume was written long before his lapse, but even so it must be read with caution. Melchior Canus, O.P., *De Locis*, II. v-xi., has one of the finest treatises on the canonicity of the Deuterocanonical books.

Buhl,* *The Canon and Text of the Old Testament*, Engl. tr., 1892. Charteris,* *Canonicity*, 1880. Green,* *General Introduction to the Old Testament: The Canon*, 1889. Loisy, *Histoire du Canon de l'Ancien Testament*, 1890. Reuss,* *History of the Canon of the Holy Scriptures in the Christian Church*, 1884. Ryle,* *The Canon of the Old Testament*, 2nd ed. 1895.

In the reviews : *On Apostolicity as the Criterium of Canonicity*, R.B., April, 1921 ; *The Church and the Bible*, von Hugel, D.R., October, 1894 ; *The Roman Canon and Esdras A.*, by Sir Henry Howarth,* J.T.S., April, 1906, with a rejoinder by the present writer, January, 1907 ; also *The Canonicity of Esther*, by the present writer, D.R., July, 1905.

* Non-Catholic.

¹ Sess. IV.

CHAPTER V

THE EVOLUTION OF THE PRINTED TEXT OF THE HEBREW BIBLE

- A. Archaic Hebrew and the Introduction of the Square Characters.
 - B. The Appearance of the Septuagint and Consequent Critical Work on the Hebrew Text.
 - C. The Labours of the Sopherim or Scribes.
 - D. The Work of the Massoretes. Controversy regarding the Value of the Vowel-Points.
 - E. The Printed Hebrew Bible.
 - F. Bibliography.
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A. Archaic Hebrew and the Introduction of the Square Characters.

As is evident from the account already given of the Sacred Scriptures, the Hebrew Bible was a thing of gradual formation. That many of the original documents which were used in its formation were in the cuneiform script is very probable. Whether portions of the Bible itself were ever written in cuneiform is another question, but it is not impossible.¹ It is certain, however, that anterior to the present Hebrew characters there were others which we find still in inscriptions and on coins, and which are known as the archaic Hebrew characters. When the Septuagint version was made the Hebrew copies which the translators

¹ See Naville, *L'Ancien Testament : A-t-il été écrit en Hébreu ?* Also *The Text of the Old Testament*, Schweich Lectures, 1915, London, 1916 ; discussions in *R.B.*, 1914, p. 610, January-April, 1921 ; *B.S.*, January, 1914

used were, at least in parts, in these old Hebrew characters. About the time of the Restoration, 538 B.C., the present square characters were gradually introduced. As the Rabbinic tradition has it :

Of old the law was given to Israel in Hebrew letters and in the holy tongue ; but it was given again in the days of Esdras in Assyrian letters and in the Aramaic tongue. At last the sages chose the Assyrian characters and the sacred language for the Israelites, and left the Hebrew characters and the Aramaic language for the idiots. Now who are the idiots ? R. Chasda says the Samaritans.¹

These words enshrine a tradition that Esdras brought from Babylonia the square characters with which we are familiar in our printed Hebrew Bible. This tradition is regarded by St. Jerome as quite historical :

"That the Hebrews had two-and-twenty letters is borne out by the language of the Syrians and Chaldeans, which is much akin to the Hebrew tongue ; for they, too, have two-and-twenty letters which agree in sound with the Hebrew letters but differ in character. The Samaritans, too, write the Pentateuch of Moses with the same number of letters, though these differ in form and in their pointing (apicibus). For it is certain that after the capture of Jerusalem and the rebuilding of the temple under Zorobabel Esdras discovered other letters, which we now use ; though previous to that time the characters used by the Samaritans and the Hebrews were alike."²

The same Rabbinic tractate quoted above adds : "Though the law was not given through Esdras, yet the mode of writing it was changed by him." And a little further on it is asked : "Why are these characters called 'Assyrian' ? Because they came up with them from Assyria."

Naturally enough, the fact that the "idiots" or Samaritans should have been allowed to preserve the characters in which the law was originally bestowed became later a grievance to Israel. They tried to maintain that the present square characters were the original ones, "but when they sinned the characters were changed into the Samaritan ones ; when they repented in the days of Esdras the square characters were again restored to them."³ Hence a further

¹ Babylonian Talmud, Tract. *Sanhedrin*, ii. 21.

² *Præf. in Libros Samuel et Malachim*, P.L. XXVIII. 547 ; *cp. Adv. Helvidium*, 7 ; Tertullian, *De Veste*, iii. ; Origen, *Selecta in Psalmos*, prologue, ed. Delarue, II. 524.

³ See Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible*, 1897, p. 290.

attempt was made to read the word אַשּׁוּרִית, Ashurith or "Assyrian," as "blessed," as in Ps. i. 1.

But we cannot believe that the change of characters was sudden; it must necessarily have been a slow process, and it is possible to discover errors in the present Hebrew text, as also in the Septuagint version, which are due to a misreading of the old Samaritan characters previously used.

A good instance is furnished by Jer. iii. 8, where the printed Hebrew text reads *And I saw*, וַיֵּרָא, which makes no sense. The Vulgate has "*Et vidit . . . soror ejus Juda*," which makes perfect sense and is followed by the Revised Version in the margin, and of course in the Douay version. The mistake is due to a confusion between the old form of the Hebrew letters *Aleph*, א, and *Tau*, ת, and so between the first and third persons, וַיֵּרָא and וַתֵּרָא. A singularly good instance of this is furnished in Ezech. xxii. 20, where the three verbs "gather . . . kindle a fire . . . and melt" are paralleled by "gather . . . take my rest, and melt." Here the Authorized Version as well as the Revised renders the second verb in the latter half by "I will leave you there," which is tame. But the difference between the two verbs is of one letter only, פ and נ, which are extraordinarily similar in old Hebrew. If, then, instead of וְהִנַּחְתִּי in the latter half we read וְהִפַּחְתִּי, as in the former half of the verse, we shall have a complete parallelism established: "So will I gather you . . . and kindle a fire in you (better, 'blow upon you') and melt you."¹

B. The Appearance of the Septuagint and Consequent Critical Work on the Hebrew Text.

Anterior to the formation of the Septuagint we find few traces of any "editing" of the Hebrew Bible, though the Pentateuch was already divided into five books, as also the Psalter. But with the arrival of the Greek translations a great change came over the Jews. This Greek translation had thrown the sacred books open to the public, and criticism soon made itself felt. This was resented, and the fact of its having been translated, though originally welcomed and its anniversary kept as a feast, was later bewailed and the feast changed into a fast. Thus Philo says that "even to this day there is held every year a solemn assembly, and a festival is celebrated in the island of Pharos, to which not only the Jews, but a great number of persons of other nations sail, in order to reverence the

¹ Ginsburg, *l.c.*, pp. 294-295.

place where the light of interpretation first shone forth.”¹ Philo had just given a most eulogistic account of the Ptolemies, and of the zeal which led to the Septuagint translation being made. But the Talmudical writers maintained that “the Thorah cannot adequately be reproduced in a translation,” and ordered that the day on which the Septuagint version was finished should be reckoned amongst the other *dies nefasti* celebrated on the eighth of Tebeth.²

Consequently the editorial labours of the Jews were now directed mainly against the Hebrew recensions from which the Septuagint was made, and also against the recension preserved in the Samaritan Pentateuch. This editorial work covers several distinct periods.

It should be noted, to begin with, that the Hebrew Bible was not originally divided into chapters; the chapter-division now given in printed Bibles was taken over from the Christian Bibles about A.D. 1330 by R. Salomon b. Ismael.³ The original division of the Hebrew text was into sections, known as “open” and “closed” sections, according to the method of writing the lines. Indications of these still appear in our printed Bibles where the student is frequently puzzled by the appearance of a single פ or ס, the opening letters respectively of פתוחה or סתומה, viz. “open” or “closed” sections. Where a triple פ or ס is found, this is meant to indicate the beginning of one of the fifty-four sections, פרשיות, into which the Pentateuch was divided, so that the whole might be read in the year;⁴ according as this series of sections coincided with an open or closed section we have a triple פ or ס.

The Pentateuch was also divided up into sections which allowed of the whole being read in the course of three years; these were termed “seders,” סדרים, and 154 are generally enumerated, though as a matter of fact they total up to 167.⁵ They are not indicated in the printed Hebrew Bible. In the *Prophets* and *Hagiographa* the only indication of these sections is a space. Jer. ix. furnishes a good example.

The introduction of the square characters had marked the first stage in the definite fixation of the Hebrew text.⁶ The subsequent stages were, as we have seen, due to the translation of the Bible into Greek, a task which began

¹ *Vita Mosis*, II. vii., ed. Bohn, iii., p. 82.

² Ginsburg, *l.c.*, p. 306.

³ *Ibid.*, chap. iii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 66. We may see references to these sections in Mark xii. 26 and Rom. xi. 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁶ Cf. *Studia Biblica*, III., and *J.T.S.*, July, 1910.

about 280 B.C. But the demand for education, which resulted in the formation, about 80 B.C.,¹ of schools where a boy of five years old had to commit much, if not all, of the Bible to memory, as well as the above-mentioned practice of dividing the text into sections for regular reading, were also important factors in stereotyping the text. This work was carried out in successive stages by the labours of the Sopherim, the Massoretes, the Nakdanim, and the printing-press.

C. The Labours of the Sopherim or Scribes.

The Sopherim, commonly known as "Scribes," were really "counters" since much of their toil consisted in counting the precise number of words in each section so as to secure exactness. How minute were their labours can be gathered from the Talmud, which says:

They counted all the letters in Holy Writ. Thus they said that the *vau* in נחון (Lev. xi. 42) is the middle letter in the Pentateuch; that דגש (Lev. x. 16) is the middle word; that והתגלח (Lev. xiii. 33) is the middle verse; that the *v* in מיער (Ps. lxxx. 14) is the middle letter of the Psalter, and that Ps. lxxvii. 38 is the middle verse.²

But the Sopherim were far more than mere enumerators; they were the accredited critics and revisers of the text. Thus the Babylonian Talmud says:

The pronunciation fixed by the Sopherim, the cancelling (of *vau*), words which are not written in the text, and *vice versa* words written in the text which are cancelled in reading, are a law of Moses on Sinai (that is, according to an ancient tradition). The pronunciations fixed by the Sopherim are, for example, אָרֶץ, land, country, which is pronounced אָרֶץ when preceded by the article, *i.e.* הָאָרֶץ, the land; שָׁמַיִם, heaven; מִצְרַיִם, Egypt, etc. (these have a dual form without being duals). The cancelling (of *vau*) is to be found four times in the word אַחֲרֵי, after, viz. Gen. xviii. 5, xxiv. 55, Num. xxxi. 2, Ps. lxviii. 26; in מִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ, thy righteousness (Ps. xxxvi. 7), etc. Words read which are not written in the text are פָּרַת, Euphrates (2 Sam. viii. 3); אִישׁ, a man (2 Sam. xvi. 23); בָּאִים, they are coming (Jer. xxxi. 38); לָהּ, to her (Jer. l. 29); אֵת (Ruth ii. 11); לִי, to me

¹ Ginsburg, *l.c.*, p. 304; cf. Schurer, *H.J.P.* II. ii., pp. 47-82, English translation.

² *Kiddushin*, 30a; quoted by Ginsburg, *l.c.*, p. 69.

(Ruth iii. 5, 17). These words are read, though they are not in the text. The following words, on the contrary, are written in the text but are cancelled in reading: נָּ , *I pray* (2 Kings v. 18); וְאֵלֶּיךָ , *and* (Jer. xxxii. 11); וְיִרְדָּה , *let him bend* (Jer. li. 3); חֲמִשָּׁה , *five* (Ezech. xlviii. 16); אִם , *if* (Ruth iii. 12). These words are written in the text, but are cancelled in reading.¹

To these Sopherim, then, we owe our present text of the Hebrew Bible. It will repay us to see what their procedure was. In the first place they separated the words, for they had hitherto been in one continuous script. The text was, of course, a purely consonantal one, for vowels in a written form do not appear in Semitic languages in general, and, in the case of the Hebrew Bible, were an invention of a much later age. But the question arises: On what principles did they determine these points? How did they decide where the continuous script was to be divided? That different recensions of the consonantal text already existed is clear from the abundant divergences of the Septuagint translation which differs notably from the current Hebrew, especially in such books as *Samuel*, *Jeremias*, *Proverbs*, *Job*, *Esther*, and *Daniel*.

No manuscript of the Hebrew Bible previous to the coming of Christ exists; we have, then, no clue to the character of the consonantal text existing in His time. The Septuagint version shows us, however, that the Hebrew from which it was derived differed substantially, at least in places, from the Hebrew text we now have. Thus, when the present Hebrew of Gen. xli. 48 reads, "*And he (Joseph) gathered all the food of the seven years which were in the land of Egypt,*" while the Septuagint has "*all the food of the seven years in which was the plenty in the land of Egypt,*" it is evident that the Hebrew has dropped out something which the Septuagint has, along with the Samaritan Pentateuch, retained; the latter has וְהַשְׁבַּע , or *the plenty*. Whether this proves that different recensions of the Hebrew text existed at the time, as Ginsburg holds, may be doubted. It may merely show that subsequent scribes made mistakes. But the multitude of places in which the Septuagint exhibits a text markedly divergent from the

¹ Babylonian Talmud, *Nedarim*, 37-38; quoted by Ginsburg, *l.c.* 308.

Hebrew seems to show that at the time the Greek version was made there was no official Hebrew text in use.

The freedom with which the author of the *Book of Jubilees* diverges from our present Massoretic text and agrees now with the Septuagint, now with the Samaritan Pentateuch, or at times presents a text differing from all three, suggests that "our book (*Jubilees*) attests an independent form of the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch. . . . Our book represents some form of the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch midway between the forms presupposed by the Septuagint and the Syriac."¹ This is borne out by Josephus' remarkable divergences from our Hebrew text, despite his repeated assurances that he is only using "the Sacred Books."² Quite apart from his figures, which differ remarkably from those in the Massoretic text,³ Josephus has additions to the text without number,⁴ and yet has apparently no suspicion that these are not in the Bible.

Discrepancies such as these naturally provoked criticism, and the Jews felt compelled to establish an official and invariable text. To secure this they (a) invented the final forms of certain letters, and thus prevented two words being read as one, as the Septuagint repeatedly does, e.g. the cryptic Οὐλαμλουζ in Gen. xxviii. 19 for אולם לון, *formerly Luz*. Statements in the Talmud show that as late as the second century A.D. these final forms were a novelty.⁵

(b) These editors also introduced the *Keri*, קרי, and *Kethiv*, כתיב, the *Kethiv* being what is actually written in the consonantal text. But the vowels do not fit the consonants; they are really those of the word given in the *Keri*, or footnote which is to be read. The classical example of what is termed "a perpetual *Keri*" occurs in the vocalization of the tetragrammaton, or ineffable divine name, יהוה. This always carries the vowels of *Adonai*, and should presumably be so pronounced, though we always read it Jehovah or Jahve.

¹ Charles, *Jubilees*, p. xxxviii; cf. Box, *Jubilees*, S.P.C.K., pp. xi and xvi.

² *Ant.* II. xvi. 5; cf. III. v. 2, vi. 1, IV. iii. 4; and note his statement that "that Scripture laid up in the Temple informs us . . .," *Ant.* III. i. 7; cf. V. i. 17.

³ The most interesting of these concerns the *heads* of the Philistines, which number 600, a statement often repeated, *Ant.* VI. x. 23, xi. 2, VII. i. 4; cf. 1 Sam. xxix. 4.

⁴ E.g. on Dagon, VI. 16; on Saul's genealogy, VI. iv. 5; of Michal and the goat's liver, VI. xi. 4, etc.

⁵ See St. Jerome, *Præf. in Libros Samuelis*. P.L. XXVIII. 551.

(c) The "matres lectionis," or quiescent or feeble letters, אהו, were only gradually introduced into the Hebrew text. Their omission or insertion determined the pronunciation and so obviated ambiguity. How slowly uniformity was obtained in this direction is evident from the Hebrew grammarians, Jehudah Chayug, A.D. 1010-1040, and Ibn Ezra, 1093-1167, who declare that their use was always left to the discretion of the scribe. Even now examples of the omission of *Aleph*, א, are to be found in the printed Bibles.¹ The same is true of the weak guttural *Ayin*, ע; ² it is even interchanged with *Aleph* in some passages.³ A study of such duplicates as Pss. xiv. and liii. and of Ps. xviii., which occurs in another recension in 2 Sam. xxii., reveals certain interesting variants in orthography. Thus Ps. xiv. 7 has "the salvation of Israel," יְשׁוּעַת; this appears in liii. as "the salvations," יְשׁוּעוֹת; it is simply a question of *scriptio plena* or *defectiva*. Yet even here some MSS. had the singular in both Psalms, as in the Vulgate. Again, the *Yod* of plural forms was sometimes omitted; thus, when the Septuagint renders Job xix. 18 by *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα με ἀπεποιήσαντο* instead of *even fools despised me*, this is because the two *Yods* were non-existent in the MS. they used, so that they read עוֹלָם for עוֹלָיִם.

(d) In Hebrew manuscripts of the Bible abbreviations occur, and the question at once arises whether this was the case in the originals. The Septuagint version shows that it was made from a copy which had many such abbreviations of the text, and that many of them even now stand in the Hebrew text to the puzzlement of the student. Thus in Gen. xlvii. 3 אַחִי אֶחָד was read by the Septuagint, the Samaritan, Jonathan, and the Syriac as אַחִי יוֹסֵף, *i.e.* an abbreviation of אַחִי יוֹסֵף, *the brethren of Joseph*, and rightly. St. Jerome seems to have felt the difficulty, but avoided it by rendering *quos ille interrogavit*.⁴

(e) The most startling, though after all the most natural, cause of error arises from *homoioteleuton*, where, that is, the eye of the copyist has wandered from the first place where a word occurred to the second which happened to be in close proximity, with the result that a whole verse or section is omitted in his copy. Thus in 2 Kings viii. 16, after the words *a house to be built that My name might be there*, the Septuagint has *but I chose Jerusalem that My name might be there; and I chose David*. . . . The eye of the Hebrew copyist has passed from the first "I chose" to the second, so that he has missed out the whole clause which, however, is given in the parallel in 2 Chron. vi. 6. A most interesting instance of *homoioteleuton* is furnished by Jos. xxi. 36-37. In the ordinary Hebrew Bibles, for example in that published by the British and Foreign Bible Society, these two verses are given in small

¹ *E.g.* Num. xi. 11; Job i. 21, xxxii. 18; 2 Sam. xx. 9; 1 Sam. i. 17; *cp.* Esth. v. 6, vii. 2, ix. 12. See, too, Gen. xxv. 24 and xxxviii. 27; Jer. vi. 14 and viii. 11.

² Isa. xlvi. 1; Jer. l. 2, li. 44; Ps. xxviii. 8 and xxix. 11.

³ *CP.* 2 Sam. i. 21 and Soph. iii. 1; also Isa. xlix. 7 and Amos vi. 8.

⁴ See also 2 Sam. iii. 27; Exod. viii. 23; Lev. vi. 10; Num. xxi. i. 10; Deut. xxxii. 35; 2 Sam. v. 25, xvii. 11; and Ginsburg, *l.c.*, pp. 168-169.

print; they are taken from 1 Chron. vi. 63-64. That their omission was due to *homoioteleuton* is rendered probable by the fact that both verses 36 and 38 begin with *Of the tribe of . . .*, and the copyist's eye wandered to the second, verse 38. From verse 7 we gather that there should be twelve cities of refuge enumerated, but without these two verses only eight are given. What makes this case a most interesting one is the fact that the omission is comparatively recent, being due to Jacob b. Chayim in his edition of 1524-25, whence it has been perpetuated in our printed editions.¹

The Septuagint itself is guilty of similar omissions due to the same cause. Thus the whole of Jos. viii. 26 is omitted in the Septuagint, and there are many other examples.²

(f) In fifteen passages a point will be noticed over a letter or series of letters; this is to signify that they are spurious; but it is not always certain to which letter or words these points really refer as there were divergent schools of thought among the Sopherim. The passages are marked with an asterisk in the ordinary printed Bibles.³

(g) In four places a single letter is written above the line: Judg. xviii. 30, Ps. lxxx. 14, Job xxxviii. 13 and 15. These passages are of peculiar interest inasmuch as they indicate the freedom with which the Sopherim deliberately changed the text on grounds which must seem to us hopelessly inadequate. In Judg. xviii. 30 the name *Moses*, מֹשֶׁה, has the letter *N* written above so as to turn it into *Manasseh*. It was felt to be a reflection on Moses that the Levite Jonathan, who for a poor salary consented to become an idolatrous priest, should have been a grandson of the law-giver. That the suspended *N* signified this is no guess, for the famous Rashi, A.D. 1040-1105, expressly says: "The *Nun*, however, is suspended to tell thee that it is not *Manasseh*, but *Moses*." In some MSS. *Manasseh* actually stands in the text without the *Nun* being written above. In accordance with this the name of Jonathan is omitted from 1 Chron. xxiii. 15-16 and xxvi. 24. It is interesting to note that the Authorized Version, following the Septuagint, reads *Manasseh*, while the Vulgate and the Revised Version have *Moses*.

In Ps. lxxx. 14 the letter *Ayin*, א, is written above the word. As we have already seen, *Aleph* and *Ayin* were sometimes interchanged; here מֵיֶאֱר will mean *from the river*, מֵיֶעֶר *from the wood*, as in the Vulgate, *aper de silva*; the "swine from the river," the Nile, was taken to stand for Egypt, the quondam enemy of Israel. But in the

¹ For similar instances see Exod. ii. 15; Jos. xi. 1, ix. 27, x. 12, xiii. 7, xxiv. 6, 17; Judg. xvi. 13, xviii. 22; 1 Sam. iii. 15; 3 Kings xxi. 4, etc. Ginsburg, *l.c.*, pp. 171-180.

² E.g. Jos. vi. 22; Judg. iii. 22-23; 1 Sam. xx. 26; 2 Sam. xxiii. 28-29.

³ Gen. xvi. 5, xviii. 9, xix. 33-35, xxxiii. 4, xxxvii. 12; Num. iii. 39, ix. 10, xxi. 30, xxix. 15; Deut. xxix. 28; 1 Sam. xix. 20; Isa. xlv. 9; Ezech. xli. 20.

Ptolemaic age the Jews were well treated in Egypt, whereas the Roman despot was feared; hence the devastator depicted in the Psalm was, by the change of a letter, regarded as Rome rather than Egypt.¹

In Job xxxviii. 13 and 15, where we read "the wicked," the Hebrew had רשעים. With *Aleph* this would mean ראשים, "the princes"; but, as the Talmud remarks, this was derogatory to David, or at least to Nehemiah. Consequently, by the insertion of *Aleph* the Sopherim changed it into רשעים, "the wicked."

(h) In at least two places sections have been bracketed by the Sopherim to indicate that they are out of place. These brackets are spoken of as "inverted Nuns," which really look like our brackets. An example occurs in Num. x. 35-36, whereon the Rabbinic commentary says: "In future this section will be removed from here and be written in its proper place." It certainly fits in better after Num. ii. 17; but the Septuagint shows that in the Hebrew copy from which it was made verse 34 should come after verses 35-36. Similarly the Massorah on Ps. cvii. brackets verses 23-28 and 39 as being displaced; but in the ordinary printed Bibles there is no sign of these "inverted Nuns" here.

Such a procedure is, of course, within the bounds of justifiable textual criticism; but it is hard to justify the following law laid down by the Sopherim:

(i) In every passage where the text has an indelicate expression a euphemism is to be substituted for it—as, for instance, for וְשָׁנְלָנָה, *ravish, violate, outrage* (Deut. xxviii. 30; Isa. xiii. 16; Jer. iii. 2; Zach. xiv. 2), ישכבנה, *to lie with*, s to be substituted; for עֲפָלִים, *posteriors* (Deut. xxviii. 27; 1 Sam. v. 6, vi. 4), read טַחְוִירִים, *emerods*; for חֲרִיוֹנִים, *dung, excrements*, or חֲרֵי יוֹנִים, *doves' dung* (2 Kings vi. 25), read רִבְיוֹנִים, *decayed leaves*; for חֲרִיָּהּ or חֲרִיָּהּ, *excrement* (2 Kings xviii. 27; Isa. xxxvi. 12), substitute צֹואָה, *deposit*; for שִׁינֵיהֶם, *urine* (2 Kings xviii. 27; Isa. xxxvi. 12), read מִמֵּי רַגְלֵיהֶם, *water of the feet*; for לְמַחְרָאִית, *middens, privies* (2 Kings x. 27), substitute לְמוֹצְאוֹת, *sewers, retreats*.

These changes are indicated in the printed Bibles by an asterisk, and the corresponding *Keri* is to be read. The text itself was not tampered with here, as was the case with the actual substitution of Manasseh for Moses in Judg. xviii., but the procedure was certainly drastic, and is only surpassed by a series of changes known as (k) תִּקְדֵּן סְפָדִים² or the *Eighteen Emendations of the Sopherim*. As these are of signal importance we must give them in some detail. Various

¹ Cf. xvii. 7 and xxiii. 30, also xx. 28.

² Cf. J.T.S., April, 1902.

Talmudic documents furnish us with lists of these changes which, so they maintain, were made “by the members of the Great Synagogue or the spiritual authorities who fixed the canon of the Hebrew Scriptures,” or, in another document, “by Ezra and Nehemiah.”

i. Gen. xviii. 22. *But Abraham yet stood before the Lord.* This originally read, *The Lord yet stood before Abraham*, but it was changed as being too anthropomorphic in tone. No trace of the supposed original form remains in the versions.

ii. Num. xi. 15. *That I may see not my evil*; “*Ne tantis afficiar malis*” in the Vulgate. This originally stood, *That I may not see Thy evil*, and was changed for the same reason.

iii. Num. xii. 12. When Miriam, the sister of Moses, was smitten with leprosy, Moses, according to the original text, prayed that she might no longer be like an abortion from our mother's womb with the half of our flesh consumed; this was changed into the present impersonal reading out of respect to Moses himself.

iv. 1 Sam. iii. 13. The Douay version has, *Because he knew that his sons did wickedly*, as in the Vulgate; but the Septuagint has *cursed God*. The Sopherim changed this, מקללים אלהים, into the present מקללים להם, which presumably should mean *cursed themselves*, though such a reflexive use of *Piel* is unknown. The Rabbis say it originally stood מקללים לי, *cursed Me*.

v. 2 Sam. xvi. 12. The *Kethiv* reads, *The Lord will look on mine iniquity*; the *Keri* has, *on mine eye*, i.e. tears. The Rabbis say that the text was, *The Lord will behold with His eye*, and was therefore changed as being too anthropomorphic.

vi. 2 Sam. xx. 1; 1 Kings xii. 16; 2 Chron. x. 16. The man of Belial said . . . *each man to his tents, O Israel!* According to the Sopherim he really said, *to his gods, O Israel!* This meant not only a blasphemy but an apostasy from the one God, hence the change from לאלהיו to the present לאהליו.

vii. Jer. ii. 11. Originally, *My people hath changed My glory*, but this was replaced by *His glory*.

viii. Ezech. viii. 17. As in the previous instance, *They put the branch to My nose* was changed to *their nose*.

ix. Osee iv. 7. *I will change their glory into shame* is a correction of the original, *My glory they have changed into shame*.

x. Hab. i. 12. *We shall not die* is a correction for *Thou diest not*.

xi. Zach. ii. 12. The original reading, *He that toucheth you toucheth the apple of Mine eye*, has been perverted into *his eye*.

xii. Mal. i. 13. Similarly the original, *You blowed Me away*, has been changed into *You blowed it away*.

xiii. Ps. cvi. 20. The original, *They changed My glory into the likeness of a calf*, was felt to be derogatory to the Shekinah or “glory” of God; hence the text now has *their glory*.

xiv. Job vii. 20. *And I became burdensome to myself*, says Job in the

present text ; but it really read *burdensome to Thee*, as the Septuagint has it. It is interesting to note that the great Ibn Ezra protested that it was best to ignore this alteration.

xv. Job xxxii. 3. The statement that Eliu *was angry with Job's friends because they had only blamed Job* hardly represents their attempts to prove his guilt, nor does it square with the statement in the first verse that *they ceased to answer Job because he was right in their eyes*, as both the Hebrew and the Septuagint have it. The real reading in verse 3 was *because they had condemned God*.

xvi. Lam. iii. 20. The whole of this stanza has been ruined owing to a change perpetrated by the Sopherim. It originally ran, *And Thy soul will mourn over me*. This seemed unworthy, so it was changed to *my soul*. Consequently, the Vulgate and some Septuagint MSS. read in the previous line, *Yea, verily, I will remember*, instead of *Yea, verily, Thou wilt remember, and Thy soul will mourn over me*.

(l) Other changes were introduced by the Sopherim which were intended to tone down certain expressions regarded as impious.

i. 2 Sam. xii. 14. By his twofold crime David had blasphemed God. The expositor Rashi says that in this passage the text originally ran, *thou hast greatly blasphemed the Lord* ; “the present text,” he says, “is an alteration due to reverence for the glory of God.”

ii. Ps. x. 3 affords a curious instance of the blending of the original text with the emendation upon it. The Hebrew reads :

*For the wicked man boasteth of the desire of his soul,
And the transgressor blesseth blasphemeth the Lord.*

Here the emendation *blesseth* has been placed in the text alongside the word *blasphemeth* which it was meant to displace.

iii. 1 Kings xxi. 10, 13. In order to avoid such expressions as *blaspheme God*, the correctors substituted the word בֵּרַךְ, *bless*, as in the previous instance. The results are sometimes disconcerting. In this passage witnesses are suborned to say that Naboth had *blessed* God ! The Septuagint and the Vulgate retain this, though the Douay version rightly has *blaspheme*. We are all familiar with the difficulty created by the wife of Job admonishing her husband to *bless God and die*, yet the term is merely due to a substitution by the Sopherim.

(m) The fact that the name of God was not to be pronounced led to certain curious changes by the Sopherim.

When we find a Psalm repeated, *i.e.* Pss. xiv. and liii., and note that the name יהוה, for which Adonai was always read, is replaced by Elohim in the latter Psalm (liii.), it is clear that some editorial principles have been at work. The same feature appears in parallel passages in *Kings* and *Chronicles*, *e.g.* in 2 Sam. v. and 1 Chron. xiv. The same practice extended to proper names which began with the first syllable of the ineffable name ; the attempt to disguise this is

the probable explanation of the contraction of Jehoachaz into Joachaz,¹ of Jehoash into Joash,² of Jehoiada into Joiada,³ etc. The same scrupulosity raised difficulties about the expression Hallelujah, הללויה. “If anyone were to give me the Psalter of R. Meir,” we read, “I would erase all the Hallelujahs, because he did not sanctify the word in writing it,”⁴ that is, he wrote it in two syllables, thus leaving the syllable *Jah* standing alone, as though it were the divine name. On the same principle proper names ending in *Jah* were always spelled *jahu*, e.g. Adajah becomes Adajahu;⁵ this occurs in no less than one hundred and forty-one names.⁶

It is a proof of the extent to which this extraordinary practice was carried that, though the name *Elohim* was not “ineffable,” yet attempts were made to disguise it in proper names. A glance at the Hebrew or Chaldaic text of *Daniel* will show that the name *Daniel* is not written normally, i.e. דַּנִּיֵּאל, in one word, but always דַּנִּי-יֵאֵל, according to the principle laid down in the Massorah that “the *Tzere* (or vowel *..*, long *e*) must be under the letter *Yod*, in accordance with the celebrated codex in the country of Eden.”⁷

Further, unless we are to suppose that Saul and David dedicated their children to a false god, we must see in the names they bestowed on them, Eshbaal, אֶשְׁבַּעַל, and Beeliada, בְּעִלְיָדָה, a reference to the one God or Baal of Israel. But since Baal was also the name of a false god, proper names so combined were changed, and בשת, *Bosheth* or *shame*, substituted for Baal. Thus Gideon's surname *Jerubbaal* becomes *Jerubbosheth*.⁸ As the Septuagint and Vulgate do not make this change, it seems clear that it was made subsequent, at least to the Greek translation. Similarly *Eshbaal* becomes *Ish-bosheth*,⁹ *Merib-baal* becomes *Mephibosheth*,¹⁰ etc.

(o) The last instance we will give of the principles dominating the Sopherim in their work is peculiarly instructive.

In Isa. xix. 18 we read that *there shall be five cities in the land of Egypt speaking the language of Canaan . . . one shall be called the city of the sun*. This was fulfilled when Onias built a temple at Leontopolis, in the district of Heliopolis, in the days of Ptolemy Philometor. Heliopolis is, of course, “the city of the sun.” But in the present Hebrew text, instead of *city of the sun* we have *city of destruction*. The Septuagint has *city of righteousness*, πόλις ἀρεδὲκ, where it has simply transliterated the Hebrew words שִׁיר הַצִּדִּיק, which are not in our

¹ 2 Kings x. 35; *cp.* xiv. 1.

² xii. 1; *cp.* xii. 20.

³ xi. 4; *cp.* Neh. iii. 6.

⁴ *Jerusalem Talmud*, Ginsburg, *l.c.*, p. 377.

⁵ 2 Kings xxii. 1; *cp.* 2 Chron. xxiii. 1.

⁶ For full details see Ginsburg, *l.c.*, pp. 387-394.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 397.

⁸ Judg. vi. 32; *cp.* 2 Sam. xi. 21.

⁹ 1 Chron. viii. 33; *cp.* 2 Sam. ii. 8.

¹⁰ 1 Chron. viii. 34; *cp.* 1 Sam. iv. 4.

present Hebrew text but must have stood there when *Isaias* was translated into Greek. Only a trifling change was required to change *הרם*, *sun*, into *חרם*, *destruction*. But why was the change made? It would seem that the foundation of this temple was regarded with favour at Jerusalem which was then in a state of destitution, hence the Egyptian city was at this period known as *the city of righteousness* or as *the city of the sun*. But when the temple was purified under the Maccabees this Egyptian temple was regarded as schismatic and its name was changed into *city of destruction*.¹

It is a very nice problem how we should regard these editors who were responsible for providing us with the square characters, who divided up the words and thus preserved the text, who also safeguarded the canon of the Hebrew Old Testament. There can be no doubt that to the pre-Christian synagogue was committed the care of the written record of Divine revelation. If we accept those features of their work with which we are in agreement, it is hard to see on what principles we are to repudiate procedures which seem to us to exceed the bounds of legitimate criticism. Can we say with Ginsburg—on whose labours in this department we have drawn so freely—that by accepting the square characters and the canon from them "we already concede to these spiritual guides of the Jewish Church" a divine authority which almost amounts to co-authorship? We certainly can, if we regard solely the work they did as the teaching Church of the Old Dispensation previous to the coming of Christ. But the various changes indicated above were the work of post-Christian Rabbis who have no claim on our allegiance whatever.²

Lest, however, it should be thought that these many changes in the Hebrew text rather tend to discredit it, it should be noted that they merely concern (a) the *matres lectionis*; (b) the *scriptio defectiva*; (c) the confusion between *ש* and *ז*; (d) certain mistakes due to a misreading of the old Hebrew characters; (e) the insertion of the final forms of the letters; (f) abbreviations misunderstood; (g) a fairly large number of omissions due to *homoioteleuta*, most of which are supplied by either the Samaritan Pentateuch or

¹ *L.c.*, p. 408.

² How keenly alive St. Augustine was to this problem may be seen from his letters to St. Jerome on the latter's translation from the Hebrew, *Épp.* xxviii, 2, lxxi, 4, lxxxii, 34-35.

the Septuagint; (*h*) certain words to be omitted or supplied; (*i*) certain words which are written but not to be read, and *vice versa*; (*j*) some fifteen words which are to be expunged; (*k*) the few "suspended letters" and "inverted Nuns;" (*l*) the removal of anthropomorphic expressions; (*m*) also of indelicate expressions; (*n*) the eighteen well-known "Tiqqun Sopherim"; (*o*) changes due to anxiety to safeguard the ineffable name; (*p*) the desire to safeguard the unity of the place of worship at Jerusalem.

None of these changes are on a large scale; practically all are registered and well known; they were made for what was, on the whole, a good purpose; few of them can be called "doctrinal." And while we have practically no means at our disposal for judging the fidelity of the Jews in copying the originals before them, that scribes were careful on the whole may be argued from the fidelity with which Assyrian copyists have preserved originals which have also come down to us.¹

The labours of the Sopherim were handed down in model codices.² We read that—

"Three codices (of the Pentateuch) were in the court of the temple—codex *Meon*, codex *Zaatute*, and codex *Hi*." These were so called from variant readings in Deut. xxxiii. 27 and Exod. xxiv. 5. "In one codex the reading וי (with *Yod*, instead of *Vau*) occurred nine times, and in the other two codices it occurred eleven times; the reading of the two codices was accepted and that of the one codex rejected."³ The codex *Meon* was so called because it read מעון, *Meon*, in Deut. xxxiii. 17 instead of מעונה, *Meonah*. This shows that these codices were drawn up before the introduction of the final forms of certain letters, for if *Nun*, נ, had here been written in its final form, no room for doubt would have been left.

That there were many other second temple codices is clear from Josephus' statement that Titus allowed him, after the capture of Jerusalem, to take a copy of "the

¹ See Sayce in *Expos. Times*, October, 1912; and Langdon in *P.S.B.A.* XXXIV. 4.

² Very little in the way of pre-Massoretic Hebrew text has come down to us. The papyrus *Nash* is the most famous. It contains the Decalogue; cf. *P.S.B.A.* XXV. (1903), pp. 34-56; *Expos. Times*, 1903, p. 200; Cowley, *Hebrew Papyri*, *J.E.A.*, October, 1915. The classical papyrus texts show that on the whole our manuscript traditional text of the classics is sound; cf. *E.E.F.*, 1907-08, p. 47.

³ *Jerusalem Talmud*, *Taanith*, iv. 2; Ginsburg, *l.c.*, p. 408.

sacred books."¹ In A.D. 220 the Emperor Severus bestowed this (?) copy on the synagogue at Rome; lists of its variant readings are preserved.

D. The Work of the Massoretes; the Value of the Vowel-Points.

To the Sopherim succeeded the *Massorettes*. This name is derived from a Hebrew root meaning *to transmit*. Hence they had charge of the "transmitted" or traditional text. They were not editors or censors as the Sopherim had been; their function was to safeguard what the latter had handed down to them. This they did by marking in the margins every detail of orthography, including derivations and variations of every type. Hence we have the *Massora parva*, or notes consigned to the central margins of the codices; the larger rubrics, consigned to the upper and lower margins, are termed the *Massorah Magna*; in our printed Bibles we have only a delectus of these notes.² Yet even then there was no absolute finality owing to the existence of divergent schools of thought amongst the Massoretes themselves, by whom various codices are quoted as authorities, *e.g.* *Codices Mugah, Hillel, Zambuki*, etc.

The great task performed by the Massoretes was the formation of the system of pointing which determined the pronunciation of the vowels. The series of dots, etc., with which we are familiar are written for the most part under the consonants in our Bibles, but in the Babylonian schools the pointing was supralinear.³ The lack of vowel-signs in the pre-Massoretic Hebrew text is frequently commented on by St. Jerome,⁴ just as he complains of the difficulty of bringing home to Latin minds and ears the differences between the Hebrew guttural letters⁵ and the pronunciation of the so-called *Begadkephath*.⁶ This shows us that in his

¹ Josephus, *Vita*, 75.

² C. D. Ginsburg, *The Massorah*, 1880-1883; *R.B.*, October, 1903, and October, 1905.

³ Cf. *P.S.B.A.* xv. 164.

⁴ *E.g. Quæst. Hebr. in Genes.* xxxvi. 24, *P.L.* xxiii. 993. For an example of his transliteration of Hebrew, see his Latin rendering of the Hebrew words of Gen. xiv. 18; cf. *Ep.* lxxiii. 3.

⁵ On Tit. iii. 9, *P.L.* xxvi. 294.

⁶ On Dan. xi., *P.L.* xxv. 575.

day the task of the Massoretes had not been begun. The vowel-signs appear, however, in a codex containing the Pentateuch and dating from about A.D. 850. The Massorah, which was appended to this about 950, has also the vowel-signs and the Massoretic accents.¹ We shall not be far wrong, then, if we say that the present system of vowels and accents dates from about the eighth century A.D. When this task had been achieved the Massoretes gave way to the *Nakdanim* or annotators on the Massorah. To them we owe the strange theories and conceits which brought the Rabbinical class into ill-deserved contempt, much as the decadent class of scholastic theologians did for scholastic theology in general. From them sprang the notion that not only the consonantal text, but the vowel-signs themselves were revealed by God on Mount Sinai, if not in the Garden of Eden, though others were content to maintain that they were at least revealed to the men of the Great Synagogue. Ibn Ezra, however, in the twelfth century, maintained—as had Ben Hilai in the ninth—that these points were due to the Massoretes. But the theory of their divine origin was deeply rooted, and when a famous Jewish scholar, known as Elias Levita, published in 1583 a treatise to prove that the points were invented by the Massoretes not earlier than the sixth century a storm arose. Catholics, of course, realized that this was an argument for the necessity of tradition, since it wrecked the notion of an infallible Bible so dear to the hearts of the reformers. But Fulke, who had received £100 from the Crown to produce an answer to the Rheims *New Testament* of 1582, upheld the inspiration of the pointed Hebrew text.² The same was even done by the famous Hebrew scholar, John Lightfoot, and by the two Buxtorfs, father³ and son, at the opening of the seventeenth century. In reply Morin, a member of the French Oratory, published a violent attack on the Hebrew text, on the Jewish historians, and especially on the Talmudical writers in general.⁴ But the decisive blow to the

¹ In the British Museum, or MS. 4445; cf. *British Museum Guide to the Manuscripts*, p. 109.

² *A Defense of the Sincere and True Translation of the Holy Scriptures into the English Tongue*, 1583.

³ *Tiberias, or A Massoretic Commentary*, 1620.

⁴ *Exercitationes Biblicæ*, 1633.

notion that the Hebrew vowel-system was divinely inspired was struck by Louis Cappel (Cappellanus), a Professor of Hebrew at the Protestant Institute at Saumur. He showed his work to John Buxtorf the elder who dissuaded him from publishing, since it would prove a formidable weapon against the Protestants. It was, however, published by another professor surreptitiously,¹ though Cappel's other works could not secure an *imprimatur* either at Geneva, Leyden or Sedan, until his son became a Catholic. Then, through the influence of Morin the Oratorian, Petavius the Jesuit, and Mersenne a Friar Minim, he secured the royal *placet*, and the book was published in 1650.² Cappel's words on the Hebrew text are interesting as showing the state of opinion in his day :

“Wherefore let this remain agreed upon and settled that the sacred codices underwent in the copying those varied and manifold mishaps which are common to all other books, arising from the ignorance, carelessness, and inattention of the copyists, and at times from the boldness and rashness of amenders; from which not even our present Hebrew codex is exempt, nor could be, save by some stupendous and incredible miracle, whereby it should come about that all the copyists of the whole of the sacred books, from the days of Moses to our own, were—like the prophets themselves in speaking and writing—divinely inspired and incapable of error.”³

E. The Printed Hebrew Bible.

The Jews from the outset took advantage of the printing-press. The *Psalter* first appeared in 1477; the *Pentateuch* at Bologna in 1482; the *Prophets* at Soncino in 1485-86; the *Hagiographa* at Naples, 1486-87; a second edition of the *Pentateuch*, 1487; the whole Bible at Soncino, 1488; a third edition of the *Pentateuch*, 1490. The Hebrew text published in the Complutensian Polyglott, 1514-17, was an independent text based upon the Naples edition of 1490. The first edition of the Rabbinic Bible appeared at Venice, 1516-17, from the press of Daniel Bomberg; it was edited by Felix Pratensis. This edition is noteworthy in that it is the first to give the *Keri* as well as variant readings.

¹ *Arcanum Punctuationum Revelatum*, 1624.

² *Critica Sacra*.

³ *Critica Sacra*, lib. x., quoted by Gray, *Old Testament Criticism*.

The Targum on the *Prophets* and the *Hagiographa*, and the Jerusalem Targum on the *Pentateuch*, are also added. In 1524-25 Jacob B. Chayim published a second edition of the Rabbinic Bible with the Massorah, the sections known as *Sevirin* and *variæ lectiones*. This edition is the basis of all our printed editions.¹

The oldest manuscript copy of the Hebrew Bible existing contains the *Prophets* only, and dates from A.D. 895; it is preserved at Cairo. The next is the famous St. Petersburg MS. of the *Pentateuch* dated A.D. 916. Both these MSS. have the supralinear pointing for the vowels.

That the Jews mutilated the Hebrew text where it told in favour of the Christians is roundly asserted by St. Justin.² Thus he quotes a passage from *Esdras* which he says was removed from the Hebrew original by the Jews; it is not in the present Greek MSS., but Lactantius quotes it in Latin.³ He says the same treatment was meted out to Jer. xi. 19 "only recently," and he quotes as from Jeremias, *The Lord God remembered His dead people of Israel who lay in the graves; and He descended to preach to them His own salvation*. This same passage is thrice quoted by St. Irenæus,⁴ once as from Isaias, twice as from Jeremias. St. Jerome brings the same accusation against the Jews apropos of Deut. xxvii. 26.⁵

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¹ Much work was done by Kennicott in the eighteenth century in investigating MSS. of the Hebrew Bible. He published *Annual Accounts* of the work of collation, 1760, and for several years following; also *The State of the Printed Hebrew Text of the Old Testament*, 1759; cf. Kennicott and De Rossi, *Variæ Lectiones*.

² *Dial.* lxxi-ii.

³ *Instit.* iv. 18.

⁴ *Adv. Hær.* III. 20, IV. 22, and in the newly discovered *Prædicatio Apostolorum*.

⁵ On Gal. iii. 10, *P.L.* xxvi. 359; see also Tertullian, *de Veste*, iii.; Origen, *Ad Africanum*; St. Jerome on Mich. v. 2, *P.L.* xxv. 1198; Lactantius, *Instituta*, iv. 30; Eusebius, *H.E.* IV. 18, 23, 29, V. 20.

APPENDIX.

Targum and Talmud.

The story of the evolution of the Hebrew printed Bible would be incomplete without some account of the Targums and the Talmud, which enshrine Rabbinical exegesis.

A. THE TARGUM.

"Targum," תַּרְגּוּם, means "interpretation,"¹ and by the "Targums" are meant the Aramaic paraphrases or translations of the Hebrew text of the Bible. The necessity for such paraphrases arose from the growing displacement of Biblical Hebrew by Aramaic, just as the use of Greek by Jews of the dispersion led to the making of the Septuagint version. Such translations may have begun so far back as the days of Esdras himself.² Originally they were not committed to writing, and we have none now of an earlier date than the fourth to fifth century A.D.

(a) The *Targum of Onkelos on the Pentateuch*³ is referred to Onkelos, a proselyte of the first century A.D., but there seems to be a confusion here with Aquila who made his translation of the Bible into Greek at that period.⁴ As a matter of fact the author of this Targum is unknown. Portions of it may date from the second to third century A.D., and it was revised and given official sanction in Babylon in the fifth century, whence it is sometimes known as the Babylonian Targum.

(b) The *Jerusalem Targum on the Pentateuch*, known as that of Pseudo-Jonathan,⁵ is complete. The title "pseudo-Jonathan" is

¹ Esdras iv. 7, where מִתְּרַגְּמִים is a word of unknown derivation, though it is identical with the modern "dragoman."

² The public reading of the Law was demanded by Moses, Deut. xxxi. 10-13; *cp.* Esdras viii. 2-8; Luke iv. 16; *cp.* Schurer, *H.J.P.* II. ii. 81, Eng. tr.

³ Emmanuel Deutsch, *Literary Remains*, 1874, ch. xv., on the Targums, is a reprint of his article in Smith, *D.B.*; also Etheridge, *The Targums on the Pentateuch*, 1862.

⁴ So Deutsch, *l.c.*, and Walker in *H.D.B.* IV., *s.v.* *Targum*—the most recent work on the subject that we have; *cp.* *J.T.S.*, July, 1925, pp. 361-362.

⁵ Deutsch, *l.c.*, pp. 380-392; also Etheridge, *l.c.*, and Taylor, *Targum Hierosolymitanum*, London, 1649.

probably due to the misreading of an abbreviation of Jerusalem as an abbreviation of Jonathan. This Targum is full of "haggadah" or stories.

(c) The *Targum on the Former and Latter Prophets*,¹ attributed to the same Jonathan ben Uzziel, son of Hillel, the great Rabbi of the first century A.D. This also received official approval in Babylon in the fifth century. The failings of great Biblical personages are not noticed, or at least are glossed over; thus the problem of Osee's espousals is evaded by omitting it altogether.

(d) Targums on the *Hagiographa* were apparently never meant for public use, and all are of late date. Those on the *Psalter*, on *Job* and on *Proverbs* are written in a mixture of late Aramaic and the Syriac of the Peshitta version. That on the *Megilloth*, viz. *Canticles*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Ecclesiastes* and *Esther*, is but a paraphrase;² the targum on *Chronicles* was not discovered till 1680-1683, and again in 1715, at which periods various portions came to light. Deutsch³ mentions a Targum on *Daniel*, but Walker says that no such Targum is known.⁴

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B. THE TALMUD.

The Law and the Prophets called for diligent study: "Search ye diligently in the book of the Lord and study"; *דַּרְשׁוּ מֵעַל סֵפֶר יְהוָה*.⁵ From this root, *דָּרַשׁ*, came the term, *מִדְרַשׁ*, "midrash" or "studying"; note the term as applied to the "*book* (*מִדְרַשׁ*) of Addo the prophet,"⁶ and still more remarkably of Joas, whose "acts" are said to be "written diligently in the Book of Kings," but more correctly "in the *midrash* of the Book of Kings."⁷ The Sopherim who thus "studied" the text gradually formed a series of such "midrash" or "studies"; we have traces of these in the

¹ Deutsch, *l.c.*, p. 364 ff.

³ *L.c.*, p. 400.

⁵ Isa. xxxiv. 16.

⁷ *Ibid.* xxiv. 27.

² But cf. *J.T.S.*, July, 1925, p. 363.

⁴ *H.D.B. IV., s.v. Targum*.

⁶ 2 Chron. xiii. 22.

treatises known as "Mechilta," מְכִילְתָּא or "measure," and "Siphre," סִפְרֵי, or "books." From about 150 B.C. to A.D. 30, or the Maccabean and Herodian periods, we find among the body of the Sopherim the famous "pairs" or זוּגוֹת, the best known of whom are Shammai and Hillel, the heads of two different schools of thought. These were succeeded by the Tannaim, or "teachers," who during the period from A.D. 100 to 200 carried on the teaching of these famous Rabbis. The whole of this oral teaching, or "the tradition of the ancients,"¹ was known as "talmud," תַּלְמוּד, from לָמַד, to teach, or more precisely as "Mishna," מִשְׁנָה, or "teaching," as opposed to "Miqla," or "what is read," i.e. in the Biblical text itself;² in other words, it was the oral as distinct from the written Law. As now existing it is due to R. Jehuda, successor of the famous R. Meir; the latter followed R. Akiba,³ who derived his teachings from the schools of Hillel and Shammai. This *Mishna* is generally regarded as dating from c. A.D. 200; it is written in new Hebrew, with Greek and Latin terms added.

The *Mishna* is divided into six headings, each of which contains from ten to twelve subdivisions. Thus we have (1) *Zeraim*, זְרָעִים, or "seeds," the best-known subdivision of which is *Berakhoth* or "blessings"; (2) *Moed*, מוֹעֵד, or "season," with such subdivisions as *Shabbath* or "the Sabbath," *Erubin* or "combinations" for deciding Sabbath boundaries, *Yoma* or "the Day of Atonement," etc.; (3) *Nashim*, נָשִׁים, or "women," and treating of the Levirate marriage, vows, divorce, betrothals, etc.; (4) *Nezirin*, נִזְיָרִים, or "damages," with the famous tractate on the *Sanhedrin*; (5) *Kodashim*, קֳדָשִׁים, or "sacred things," with two treatises; *Tamida*, תָּמִיד, or "the continual sacrifice," and *Middoth*, מִדּוֹת, or "measurements, viz. of the temple"; (6) *Toharoth*, טְהָרוֹת, or "purifications."

To these must be added the *Tosephta* or "additional" treatises, as also certain minor tractates.

To the Tannaim succeeded the Amoraim, אֲמוֹרָאִים, "speakers" or "interpreters," who flourished from c. A.D. 200 to 500. At this time arose the Babylonian school of interpretation, which soon rivalled and finally surpassed the Palestinian schools. From these respectively came the Babylonian

¹ Mark vii. 3.

² *J.T.S.*, July, 1925, p. 363.

³ For an account of him, cf. *J.T.S.*, l.c.

and Palestinian Talmuds. The function of these Amoraim was to interpret the Mishna itself, and hence their work is sometimes spoken of as the Gemara, גמרא, or *supplement*. After them came the Saborai, סבוראי, or "meditators" on the Talmud, from the sixth century.

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THE PRINCIPAL VERSIONS OF THE HEBREW OLD TESTAMENT

Chap. VI.—The Samaritan Pentateuch.

„ VII.—The Greek Translations of the Old Testament.

„ VIII.—The Latin Versions of the Old Testament.

„ IX.—The English Versions.

CHAPTER VI

THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH

Many will be inclined to cavil at the inclusion of the *Samaritan Pentateuch* among the versions. Perhaps it would be better termed “the Samaritan edition,” rather than version. But it will be sufficient to note this as a moot point.

That the Samaritans had a recension of the Pentateuch which was in some respects different from that in use among the Hebrews was known at a very early period. Thus St. Jerome says that he consulted “the Hebrew volumes of the Samaritans” to discover whether they agreed with the Septuagint and the later Greek versions of Deut. xxvii. 26 against the then existing Hebrew text, and he found that they did so.¹ In the early part of the seventeenth century Pietro della Valle was urged by the French

¹ On Gal. iii. 10, *P.L.* XXVI. 357; Origen appears to have used it in his *Hexapla* on Num. xiii. 1, xxi. 13; cf. Field's *Hexapla*, I. lxxxii.

Ambassador at Constantinople to try and obtain copies of it in the course of a voyage he was making in Palestine. He succeeded in getting two copies at Damascus; one of these is now at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the other in the Vatican library. Some forty MSS., including fragments, are to be found in European and American libraries now; twenty-seven of these are in England.

Ever since Gesenius published his thesis on the subject¹ in 1815 controversy has raged concerning the critical value of this edition of the Pentateuch. The question naturally depends on the relations which can be shown to exist between the Massoretic text, the Septuagint version, and the Samaritan; also upon the date to which the latter is to be assigned. As for the former question, nearly every possible combination has been upheld at one time or another. Thus it has been held that the Samaritan was a translation from the Septuagint,² also the converse,³ also that all three derive from an early Hebrew text: the Samaritan first, then the Septuagint, finally the present Massoretic text, but all three without mutual interdependence. Thus while it is true that the Samaritan and the Septuagint often agree against the Massoretic, it is far more often the case that the Samaritan and the Massoretic are in agreement against the Septuagint, *e.g.* in the famous instance where the Septuagint makes each of the first five Patriarchs a hundred years older at the birth of his eldest son than do the Massoretic and Samaritan texts; in many instances, too, all three differ and betray complete independence. It seems more in accordance with facts, then, to regard these three editions of the Pentateuch as independent of one another, and of the three the Samaritan will indubitably be the oldest. But how old is it?

This problem is no idle one from the point of view of modern Pentateuchal criticism. For if we accept the purely gratuitous statement of critics that the son-in-law of Tcbias took with him a copy of the Law when Nehemias

¹ *De Pentateucho Samaritani Origine, Indole et Auctoritate*; cf. *Expos.*, September, 1911.

² See Thomson, *The Samaritans: their Testimony to the Religion of Israel*, 1919, pp. 327 ff.

³ Kohn, *De Pentateucho Samaritano*, p. 36; Thomson, *l.c.*, p. 329.

drove him out, then even on Josephus' chronology this took place in the time of Alexander the Great, *i.e.* the close of the fourth century B.C. As a matter of fact, this particular event took place a hundred years earlier. But the notion that this renegade priest took with him a copy of the Law and that this was the progenitor of the Samaritan Pentateuch, is simply due to the anxiety of critics to evade the very inconvenient witness of the Samaritan Pentateuch which literally cuts at the root of their theory that the ceremonial and ritual portions of the law were Exilic—if not post-Exilic—in origin, due in fact to Esdras himself. Moreover this notion about Manasses runs counter to indubitable facts. For he was certainly expelled for infringement of marriage laws laid down in the Pentateuch, and rigidly enforced at the time by Esdras.¹ Is it in the least probable that this priest would make off with a copy of the very Law which incriminated him? Further, if the then existing Pentateuch was but a compilation due to Esdras who had expelled him, is it conceivable that this priest, as well as the Cuthæans to whom he fled and whose ritual he was to organize, would welcome this supposedly new-fangled document?

On the other hand it is an incontrovertible fact that in the time of Esarhaddon, 681-668 B.C., a priest who had been deported under Sargon actually was despatched from Assyria to the Cuthæans to teach them the law.² This fact would explain Samaritan devotion to the Pentateuch, but it spells ruin to the modern theory on the Pentateuch. The same fact will also explain how it is that the Samaritan Pentateuch has always been written in the ancient angular characters familiar to us from inscriptions and even from coins dating from Maccabæan times; the "square" characters came in, according to all Hebrew tradition, with Esdras who had repudiated the overtures of the Cuthæans for a share in the rebuilding of the city and temple.

But if the Samaritan Pentateuch goes back as far as the days of Esarhaddon then it also cuts at the root of another and even more fundamental modern theory, *viz.* that

¹ Neh. xiii. 23-28; *cp.* Deut xxiii. 3, the passage they had just read; also Deut. vii. 3-6; 3 Kings xi. 3.

² 4 Kings xvii.

Deuteronomy only dates from the discovery of the law in the days of Josias, c. 621 B.C.,¹ for of course the Samaritan Pentateuch contains *Deuteronomy*. Further still, the fall of Samaria in 721 B.C. carries us back to the days of Isaias and Amos. Now the latter denounces Israel, or the northern kingdom, for its failure to observe precisely those portions of the Pentateuch which critics maintain only date from the Exile. But if we are thus pushed back, as we are, into the days of Ahab,² what is to prevent us going as far back as the schism between Juda and Israel as a point after which it is incredible that the northern kingdom should have been indebted to the southern for its sacred books? The sole argument we can discover against the view that the Samaritan Pentateuch—that is, a recension of the Pentateuch in ancient Hebrew characters—must have been in use in the northern kingdom anterior to the schism about the middle of the tenth century B.C. is that it is not higher criticism! It is surely worth insisting that this view—an ultra-conservative one perhaps—is simply the plain, straightforward sense of the Biblical narrative. The only difficulty about it is that it makes shipwreck of modern theories on the compilation of the Pentateuch!

The divergences of the Samaritan text from the Massoretic may be distinguished as (a) accidental, (b) intentional. As examples of the former we have those cases where the Massoretic has misread the old Hebrew characters, e.g. *Daleth* for *Resh*;³ they can be taken for one another in the square characters too. Intentional changes are: (i.) Grammatical, and here it is noteworthy that either the *matres lectionis* were introduced earlier among the Samaritans—a most unlikely supposition—or the present Samaritan text is later than the introduction of these forms into the text edited by the Sopherim. At any rate they are more frequently used in the Samaritan text than in inscriptions. Also the determinative **DN**, *eth*, is more regularly used. (ii.) Logical changes, e.g. the reading “sixth day” with the Septuagint instead of “seventh” with the Massoretic in Gen. ii. 2. (iii.) What we may term deliberate changes, e.g. the chronological changes in the ages of the Patriarchs mentioned above. But far more important are the changes due to doctrinal reasons: In four places⁴ the Massoretic has a plural verb with *Elohim*; these are changed to the

¹ 4 Kings xxii-xxiii.

² Amos iii. 15 and 3 Kings xxii. 39.

³ Gen. x. 4, xlvii. 21.

⁴ Gen. xx. 13, xxxi. 53, xxxv. 7; Exod. xxii. 8-9.

singular in the Samaritan. The changes due to the Samaritan claim that Gerizim was the “place that the Lord chose” are numerous; thus instead of *Moriah* we have *Moreh* in Gen. xxii. 2; at the end of Exod. xx. 17 there is added what is practically Deut. xxvii. 2-7, with the substitution of Gerizim for Ebal; similarly in the twenty¹ places in Deuteronomy where the Massoretic reads “the place which the Lord thy God *shall* choose” the Samaritan reads “chose,” thus preparing the way for the designation of Gerizim in Exod. xx. 17; Deut. v. 21, xvii. 4.

One radical difference between the Samaritans and the Hebrews we have left untouched until now: the Samaritans receive the Pentateuch only. This fact has always been a mystery. Josue is pre-eminently the Samaritan hero;² how comes it, then, that the canonical *Josue* finds no place in their canon? Samaria, too, was the scene of perhaps the most striking of all prophetic manifestations—the ministry of Elias and Eliseus; while more than one of the Prophets delivered his “oracles” in or against the northern kingdom. Now we can understand the exclusion of the prophetic writings from the Samaritan canon since all these were dominated by the promises made to David and his house. We can understand, too, the exclusion of *Kings* and *Chronicles* since where they do not ignore the northern kingdom—as does the chronicler—they condemn it vehemently. But this does not explain the exclusion of *Josue*, an exclusion which is all the more marked when we find that the Samaritans have a *Book of Josue* of their own which is very late in character and full of apocryphal details.³ Is there any other answer save that at the time of the separation between the two kingdoms *Josue* had not been officially received into the canon?

¹ E.g. xvi. 2, etc. For details, see Thomson, *l.c.*

² Jos. xxiv. 30.

³ The *Samaritan Book of Josue* was published in 1848; it is in Arabic, though written in Samaritan characters. Dr. Gaster published recently a *Book of Josue* which, however, appears to be simply the canonical *Josue* with modifications to suit Samaritan prepossessions. For a study of its relation to the Septuagint *Josue* see Gaster, *P.S.B.A.*, March, 1909, p. 393. See Thomson, *l.c.*, pp. 143-153; *P.E.F.*, 1876, p. 187; 1900, p. 272.

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CHAPTER VII

THE GREEK TRANSLATIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

I. The Septuagint.

- (a) Its Origin.
- (b) Its Value.

II. Other Translations, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.

III. Early Editorial Work on the Greek Versions.

- (a) Origen's Hexapla.
- (b) Hesychius.
- (c) Lucian.
- (d) The Syro-Hexapla.
- (e) The Resulting Confusion.

IV. The Manuscripts of the Greek Bible.

V. The Printed Editions of the Greek Bible.

VI. Bibliography.

I. The Septuagint.

(a) *Its Origin.*—The “Septuagint” is the title commonly given to the best known of all the translations of the Old Testament into Greek. It embodies an old tradition that the translation was the work of seventy-two Jews who were sent to Alexandria for the express purpose of rendering their sacred writings into Greek at the desire of Ptolemy Philadelphus, 285-247 B.C. This story can be traced to its source in a letter purporting to be written by one Aristeas, who represents himself as a courtier of Ptolemy II.¹

¹ Aristeas, *Historia LXX Interpretum*, Oxford, 1692; H. St. John Thackeray, *The Letter of Aristeas, translated, with an Appendix of Ancient Evidence on the Origin of the Septuagint*, S.P.C.K., 1917; also in Charles, *Apocrypha*, ii. 83-122.

Aristeas writes to his brother and gives him a description of a journey he had recently made to Jerusalem. In the course of the letter he tells him that the royal librarian, Demetrius, had so interested the king by his account of the Jewish Scriptures that the latter decided to have a translation made for his library at Alexandria; that the High Priest at Jerusalem acceded to his desire, and sent seventy-two elders to Egypt with a copy of the law written in gold; and that the task of translation was accomplished in seventy-two days. This story was received without question by many of the Fathers of the Church, who give it in various forms and with many embellishments.

The story of the marvellous translation is quoted by Josephus who, however, speaks very guardedly, while giving the substantial facts;¹ also by Philo who revels in details: it was carried out on the island of Pharos; the translation made by each independently was found to be identical, "as though some invisible prompter had whispered in the ears of each"; hence an annual commemorative feast was held on the island in Philo's time.² St. Irenæus regards the translation as divine: "One and the same Spirit of God who spoke by the prophets has translated correctly through the (seventy) elders."³ Even St. Augustine held the same view,⁴ though to St. Jerome he writes cautiously: "As for their agreement—surpassing all collusion or intention—I dare not pronounce upon it. I will only say that I think that a preponderating authority should be accorded them."⁵ St. Jerome himself sneers only at the legend about the separate cells in which the translators worked;⁶ he does not question the substance of the fact, he even remarks that the version of the Seventy "is full of the Holy Spirit," *Præf. in Chron.* (LXX), *P.L.* XXIX. 402.

¹ *Ant.* I. iii. 10-12, XII. ii. 1-5, 15, where, it should be noted, Josephus quotes the actual *Letter of Aristeas* at great length; he points out, however, that at first only the Law was translated, *Ant. Præf.*, 3.

² *Vita Mosis*, ii. 5-7.

³ *Adv. Hær.* III. xxi. 4; cf. St. Justin, *Apol.* xxxi., Tertullian, *Apol.* i. 13, 18.

⁴ *Civ. Dei*, XV. 13, XVIII. 42-44; cf. *De Consensu*, ii. 128, *Quæst. in Genesim*, i. 169, in *Josue*, vi. 19; *Epp.* lxxi. and lxxxii. on Ps. lxxxvii. 10, etc.

⁵ *Ep.* xxvii. 2.

⁶ *Præf. in Pentateuchum* and in *Librum Dierum*.

Though the *Letter of Aristeas* can hardly be regarded as a contemporary document yet it is no impudent forgery. The writer betrays an intimate acquaintance with Egyptian court customs, and even with Jerusalem; he has caught, too, the atmosphere of Ptolemaic times as now revealed to us in papyri of the period. Moreover, the fact that Josephus quotes it shows that the *Letter* itself is very early in date. Schurer would assign it to about 200 B.C., others from a century to a century and a half later, others again to about the middle of the first century A.D.; but this latter date hardly explains Josephus' acceptance of it. It is at least certain that the *Letter* enshrines a sound tradition. We now know of large and flourishing Jewish communities in Egypt as far back as the sixth century B.C.,¹ even perhaps as far back as the days of Jeroboam;² while at Alexandria, under Alexander the Great, the Jews had, says Josephus, "equal privileges with the Greeks themselves."³ It is by no means incredible, then, that fifty years later Ptolemy Philadelphus, who was interested in literature, should have procured the translation of the Bible into Greek.

In fact the real problem is whether much of the Bible had not been already translated long before this date. It is a commonplace with an Alexandrian like Clement that the Greek philosophers derived all that was best in them from studying the writings of Moses.⁴

As a matter of fact the existence of a flourishing Jewish community in Alexandria would inevitably lead to the formation of such a translation. For as a generation grew up to whom neither Hebrew nor Aramaic were familiar, the readings from the sacred books in the synagogue would have to be rendered into Greek.⁵ The fact that the translation is of unequal value—certain books being very well done, others, *e.g.* *Isaias* and *Amos* i-ii., being the reverse—fully accords with the view that the origin of the translation must be sought in the needs of the Jewish community. At the same time we must not regard the Septuagint version

¹ See *s.v.* *Assuan Papyri*, vol. ii.

² 3 Kings xi. 17-22.

³ *Wars*, II. xviii. 7.

⁴ *E.g.* *Strom.* i. 15, 17; *cf.* Josephus, *Contra Apion*, i. 1-8.

⁵ *Cf.* J.T.S., October, 1922; also H. St. John Thackeray, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship, a Study of Origins*, Clarendon Press, 1921.

as merely a kind of paraphrase such as are the Aramaic Targums; it is a translation in the true sense of the word, and in many places is slavishly literal,¹ hence its immense importance for the exegete.

(b) *Its Value*.—It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of the Septuagint version, or even of the later Greek versions which fundamentally depended on it. Beyond doubt it was the providentially ordained means for the propagation of divine revelation among the heathen nations of the world in the two centuries preceding the coming of Christ. In the Greek-speaking world of that age the translation served as a medium for familiarizing men with the religious teachings of the Jews, and especially with the idea of a Messiah who was to redeem the world. We can detect the influence of the Septuagint in the terminology of the New Testament writers, especially in St. Paul and St. Luke who moulded their sentences in Biblical language derived from the Greek version. The same feature appears in the New Testament quotations from, or references to, the Deuterocanonical books which could only have been known to Christ and His Apostles through the Greek Bible.² Until the appearance of St. Jerome's Vulgate the pre-eminence of the Septuagint was assured; it was known as the *Koinḗ* or "Vulgate" edition, since it was in every man's hands; we know how much St. Augustine deprecated St. Jerome's translating direct from the Hebrew in seeming disparagement of the Septuagint.³ Hence it is not surprising to find many ecclesiastical terms and theological expressions which are derived from the Septuagint, for this version had already expressed in Greek what the theologians of the early Church had to set before the world.

When, after the Reformation, the Latin Vulgate lost its pre-eminence in the West and men turned to the Hebrew as the original, it was only natural that both the Septuagint and the Vulgate should be lost sight of, and that their value as witnesses to the text should be forgotten. This is, of

¹ *E.g.* 4 Kings vi. 15.

² Thus, note St. Paul's quotation of Wisd. vii. 26 in Heb. i. 3, and see further, *s.v.* *Canon*, pp. 140.

³ *Ep.* lxxi. 4, *P.L.* XXXIII. 242.

course, fully recognized nowadays. The simple fact that our earliest MS. of the Hebrew Bible belongs to the ninth century A.D. is sufficient to prove the enormous value attaching to a version made at least two centuries before Christ and existing in a number of very early manuscripts. The additional fact that the translators in the Christian era—Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion—knew the Septuagint and were good Hebrew and Greek scholars would make their translations of great importance if only we possessed more than fragments of them.

In estimating the value of the Septuagint as an aid to textual criticism or to exegesis we must remember that (a) it only exists in a corrupt state; (b) that the variants provided by different MSS. amount to an immense number; (c) that it is not the work of one hand¹ as was, for instance, St. Jerome's Vulgate; (d) that the existence of parallel translations such as those of Aquila and the rest has led to the insertion of readings derived from them and not native to the original Septuagint. In reading the Fathers on this version it must be borne in mind that Origen seems to have been convinced that the Septuagint text—if only it could be arrived at, as he thought it could—was absolutely reliable, much as St. Jerome at a later date thought that the Hebrew text—the official one he had—was of unquestionable authority. Neither of those positions could now be maintained. Lastly, the vagaries of copyists must not be forgotten.² The problem, then, is to discover (a) the

¹ See St. Jerome, *Prologue* to com. on Ezechiel, *P.L.* XXIX. 938.

² It is hard for us who are accustomed to the accuracy of the printed page and careful proof-reading to realize how grave a problem the ordinary copyists presented in early days. A chapter could be filled with the lamentations of various Fathers on this head. Thus St. Gregory of Nyssa, apropos of his treatise *Adv. Eunomium*, complains of the scarcity of calligraphers in Cappadocia; St. Ambrose mentions the ease with which mistakes are made in copying (on Ps. cxviii. 28, 136, 176, *P.L.* XV. 1312, 1527, 1591); he also points out that repeated translation from Hebrew into Greek and Greek into Latin "attenuare consuevit sensum" (on Ps. xxxvii. 17, *P.L.* XIV. 1083; *cp.* Origen *ad Africanum* on the *Benedicite* and Rufinus in his *Preface* to his translation of Origen's *De Principiis*). This explains the care with which letters were apparently always copied before being sent out; see St. Augustine, *Epp.* xxxi. 7, cxxi. 14, cxlvii. 42, cxlix. 33, clxix. 1, 13, ccii. 2, ccv. 13, *Enchirid.* iii., *Retract.* II. 33; St. Cyprian, *Ep.* ii. 3,

original Septuagint text; (b) to what extent that translation can be taken as a faithful version of the original Hebrew as it then existed. This is, of course, a task for the textual critic. Here we must be content to point out certain features in the Septuagint text as we have it which may show us with what caution we have to proceed in arguing from the Greek text.

In the chapter on the Hebrew Bible we have seen that the Septuagint must have been made from a Hebrew text which, at least in part, was written in the archaic Hebrew script; this gave rise to certain mistakes which, however, do not seem to have been of any real gravity. It should further be borne in mind that (a) manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible must have suffered, for the material used was perishable; (b) that the wholesale destruction of the Hebrew Scriptures at the command of Antiochus Epiphanes¹ must have had far-reaching effects; (c) that since vowel-points did not exist at that time, the translators represent what must have been the traditional reading of the consonantal text;² (d) that the version was made in Egypt,³ and that Hebrew was then almost a dying language.⁴ There is no ground for supposing that at the time the Septuagint version was made there was a stereotyped Hebrew text; indeed, it has been contended that retranslation of their Greek into Hebrew discloses the fact that at times they must have had a different Hebrew text before them from what we now have.⁵

Certain features, then, of the Septuagint text must be noticed. In the first place, there are many additions to the Hebrew text as well as omissions; passages, even whole

xli. 4; and notice St. Jerome's complaints on the carelessness of so many copyists, *Eph.* xlix. 3, lxxi. 5, on Ephes. ii. 1, *Præf. in Esdram*, P.L. xxviii. 1403.

¹ 1 Macc. i. 59-60; Josephus, *Ant.* XII. v. 4, XVI. vi. 2.

² Examples will be found in Ps. lxxxix (xc.); see St. Jerome, *Ep.* cxl. 16; Osee xiii. 14, Mal. ii. 3.

³ See Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, Eng. trans., pp. 99, 106-107.

⁴ This may explain such passages in the Septuagint as 3 Kings xix. 18, 4 Kings v. 19, Gen. xxxv. 16, xlviii. 7, etc.

⁵ How keenly alive St. Augustine was to the value of the versions as throwing light on difficult passages is clear from such passages as *De Doct. Christiana*, ii. 11; cf. *R.B.*, 1898, p. 243.

chapters, are transposed. At times, too, the translators seem to have had a different Hebrew text before them; at other times they appear to have misunderstood the Hebrew they read. Thus, if we take such a book as *Job* we find, first of all, a fair number of additions, *e.g.* ii. 9, a fairly long addition to the complaint made by Job's wife; in ii. 11 the three friends are spoken of as "kings"; in xxxviii. 35 very disparaging remarks about women; in xlii. 17 five long verses appended giving an account of Job and his genealogy, though this is probably a much later insertion. A number of passages seem to show that the Greek translators had a different Hebrew text before them,¹ or that possibly they did not understand the Hebrew text.² There are, too, a number of omissions, though they are never on a large scale.³ Passing at random to other books, in—

Exod. xxxvi-xxxix. we have a very different arrangement of the text. There are also many omissions and additions; for example, in 1 Sam. xvii. 12-31 we have an account of David and his interviews with Saul which—presumably as being hard to reconcile with other portions of the text—is omitted in *Vaticanus*, *B*, but retained by *Alexandrinus*, *A*. In 2 Samuel we find, in addition to minor changes and variations, in viii. 7, a piece of additional information about Sesac of Egypt and his pillage of the armour David had won from the enemy; in xi. 22 a note about Joab is found in the Greek; in xv. 18 additional names of those who went with David in Absalom's rebellion; in xxiii. 3 David's last words are amplified, as also verses 33-38, the list of his men of valour. In 1 Kings ii. 29 a detail about Joab is added; while fourteen verses are appended to ii. 35 and ten verses to ii. 46, dealing with Solomon, his wisdom, marriage, and wealth; in chapters v-vii. are numerous displacements of the text; in vi. 1, viii. 53, and x. 22 additional information about Solomon's buildings; in xi. 14 a note on Ader (for Adad) the Idumæan; to xii. 24 twenty-five verses are appended, giving an account of Jeroboam which is of great interest; while to xvi. 28 eight verses add information about Josaphat, and in xxiii. 27 three additional verses are given about Ahab's repentance.

In *Jeremias* there are many transpositions, and the prophecies against the nations are placed in the middle of the book, instead of at the end.⁴ In fact, we seem to possess two distinct "editions" of the Greek

¹ *E.g.* i. 6, vi. 6, xii. 6, xiii. 28, xv. 11, 23, xix. 17, 25, xx. 17, xxii. 12, xxiv. 11, xxxiii. 24.

² *E.g.* iii. 18, xiii. 11 (where, too, the Vulgate seems strange), xviii. 12, xxxvi. 30, xxxvii. 12, xxxix. 13.

³ *E.g.* xii. 4, xvi. 4, xvii. 3, xxiv. 1, xxx. 5, xxxv. 3.

⁴ "Omnino confusus," says St. Jerome, *Præf. in Jerem.*, *P.L.* XXVIII. 848.

Jeremias; a study of chapter xxvii. (Vulgate, xxxiv. in LXX) will reveal some startling facts in illustration of this. An examination of such passages as 1 Sam. xiv. 8, vii. 1, xxiii. 6, 9, 2 Sam. iv. 5-7, xvii. 3, 1 Kings xviii. 8, xix. 10, and also Gen. xlvii. 4-6, will preclude us from fancying that the text preserved in the various MSS. of the Septuagint translation is negligible; at times it has not only given us valuable information but perhaps an even better text than the Massoretic.¹

Again, St. Jerome complains repeatedly of the Greek translators' ignorance of Hebrew proper names.²

An examination of any chapters of *Josue*, for example, will show the truth of this. Thus in xviii. 12 ἡ Μαβδερίτις Βηθαὺν for "ad solitudinem Bethaven," בֶּתְאָוֶן, causes endless confusion in verses 13-15; so, too, the word עֲמֹק, "a valley," which is nearly always simply transcribed in Greek letters, 16 and 21. So, too, xvii. 2, Συμαριμ for *Semida*, שִׁמְיֹדָה, where ר has been, as often, read for ד, or *d*; ³ in xvii. 5 λαβέκ shows how apparently *Daleth* has been taken for *Kaph*, לִבְךָ for לֶכְךָ, though it is hard to see how this could be save in the final forms which only came in so much later; xvii. 9, קָנָה has been taken as a proper name, "the vale of Kana," instead of "the reedy valley." The iron chariots of the Canaanites apparently presented a puzzle, for the Septuagint has ἵππος ἐπιλεκτός καὶ σιδηρός (xvii. 16, 18).

Though St. Jerome complains of the Greek rendering of the proper names, he himself was not always consistent in this matter; for he translated the proper names of some of David's heroes, e.g. *Jesbaham*, *sitting in the chair, was the wisest chief among the three; he was like the most tender little worm of the wood, who killed eight hundred men at one onset*; ⁴ whereas the Greek translators rightly regarded these as proper names, and therefore to be transliterated instead of translated. Yet Jerome could write:

"Nearly all the Hebrew words and names which occur in the Greek and Latin translations are, being very old, incorrect and distorted through copyists' mistakes. Hence, when still worse copies are made

¹ See Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, p. 34, Oxford, 1889; Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*; Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of Samuel*, xlviii ff.; Kennedy, *Sources of New Testament Greek, or the Influence of the Septuagint on the Vocabulary of the New Testament*, Edinburgh, 1895.

² *Præf. in Libr. de Nomin. Hebr.*, P.L. XXIII. 771.

³ E.g. Ἀπαδίτης for Ἀραδίτης, 2 Sam. xxiii. 34; cp. *Ezech.* xxvii. 20 *Mal.* ii. 12, 1 Sam. xxiii. 15 and 33.

⁴ 2 Sam. xxiii. 24.

from uncorrected ones, we get barbarous presentations of Hebrew words, for they have no nationality at all; they have ceased to be Hebrew, and have not begun to be anything else."¹

Lastly, there can be no doubt that the translators, or perhaps subsequent copyists, had their theological prejudices. Thus the Fathers unhesitatingly declare that the Jews deliberately corrupted the Greek version,² while St. Jerome particularly insists on the fact that the Septuagint suppressed the doctrine of the Holy Trinity in such passages as Osee xi. 1, Isa. xi. 1, Zach. xii. 10, Prov. xviii. 1, Isa. lxiv. 4, passages which he maintains are preserved in the New Testament respectively in Matt. ii. 15, 23, John xix. 37, vii. 38, 1 Cor. ii. 9.³

On one occasion, at least, Jerome seems to say that the Jews did not falsify the text, and refers to Origen in support of this statement,⁴ but elsewhere he accuses them in plainest terms of not daring to translate correctly Isa. ii. 20, because "they realized it was a prophecy of Christ."⁵

II. Other Translations.

Aquila was a native of Pontus and is said to have been a kinsman of the Emperor Hadrian, A.D. 117-135, for whom he supervised the rebuilding of Jerusalem as *Ælia Capitolina* after the overthrow of Bar-Cohebah. Originally a pagan, Aquila was converted to Christianity; he then became a Jew, and appears to have been a disciple of the famous Rabbi Akiba, A.D. 95-135. At that date controversy between the Jews and Christians was very keen; we have an example of it in St. Justin's *Dialogue*. The Septuagint version

¹ On Ezech. xl. 5, *P.L.* XXV. 376; *cp.* on xxvii. 18, *ibid.* 258, and *Eph.* xxix. 4.

² See St. Jerome, *Præf. in Josue*, in 1-2 *Paral.* (the Greek version), *P.L.* XXVIII. 1328, *Præf. in Psalmos*, and to his translation of the Psalms, *P.L.* XXVIII. 1124 and 1912; St. Ambrose on Ps. cxviii. 67, *P.L.* XV. 1394. For the corruption of the LXX from other causes see St. Jerome, *Adv. Rufin.* ii., *Eph.* lxx., *Præf. in Hebr. Quæst.*, on Matt. xiii.; also Lactantius, *Instit.* iv. 7, etc.

³ *Præf. in Pentat.*, *P.L.* XXVIII. 149-150; and *Præf. in Paral.*, *ibid.* 1326. The Latin translation, he declares, is better than the Greek, and the Greek better than the Hebrew.

⁴ On Isa. vi. 9, *P.L.* XXIV. 99.

⁵ On Isa. ii. 20, *ibid.* 55; see, too, *Præf. in Isaiam*, *P.L.* XXVIII. 772.

was used by the Christians to refute the Jews, but the latter retorted that this version was full of errors and did not represent the Hebrew text;¹ moreover, the Septuagint was not, from the nature of its origin, an official translation; it had grown, and consequently it had not the uniformity of treatment which should mark an official version. Aquila was therefore called upon by the Jews to make an exact translation. But his translation was slavishly literal: "We rightly repudiate Aquila, a proselyte and a most meticulous translator; for he endeavoured not so much to translate the words as to express their etymologies as well."² Jerome adds that Aquila actually rendered the Hebrew determinative sign תת by σὺν, e.g. in Gen. i. Aquila twice translated the Hebrew, or at least published two editions of his translation, for St. Jerome speaks of "Aquila's first" and also of his "second edition."³

Theodotion was apparently a contemporary of Aquila; he is called an Ebionite⁴ by St. Jerome. He appears to have revised the Septuagint to make it conform to the official text. Only fragments of his work remain, except in the case of his version of *Daniel* which replaced the Septuagint version in the MSS. that have come down to us.⁵

¹ Thus St. Jerome, dedicating to Sophronius his translation of the Psalter from the Hebrew, says: "You complained that lately when disputing with a Jew and quoting certain passages from the Psalms touching Christ our Saviour, the Jew mocked at you, and said that in practically every instance the Hebrew Psalter was not in agreement with your quotations from the Septuagint" (*Præf. in Librum Psalmorum juxta Hebraicam Veritatem*, P.L. XXVIII. 1124).

² *Ep.* lvii. 11; P.L. XXII. 577-578; *cf.* on Isa. xlix. 5-6, P.L. XXIV. 466; and on Osee ii. 17, P.L. XXV. 839; St. Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, XV. xviii. 3.

³ On Jer. iv. 24 and viii. 17, P.L. XXIV. 719 and 740; *cf.* J.T.S., July, 1925.

⁴ *Præf. in Esdras*, P.L. XXVIII. 1404; on Hab. iii., P.L. XXV. 1326; *Prol. in Dan.*, P.L. XXV. 493.

⁵ *Prol. in Dan.*, P.L. XXV. 493; and more expressly "by the judgement of the Doctors of the Church the Septuagint edition of *Daniel* was repudiated; Theodotion's version is therefore generally read as being more in harmony with the Hebrew and the other translators. Hence in the ninth book of his *Stromateis* Origen says that from this point onwards (Dan. iv. 6) he is giving, not the Septuagint translation, which differs very much from the Hebrew, but Theodotion's edition" (on Dan. iv. 6, *ibid.* 514).

Symmachus, also an Ebionite,¹ is referred by some to the age of Commodus, 180-192, but was perhaps contemporary with Aquila and Theodotion. Both Symmachus and Theodotion were led to make their translations by the baldness of that of Aquila; hence Symmachus is said to render rather "sense for sense than word for word."

"The Bible as translated by the Septuagint," says St. Jerome, "has not the same savour in Greek as in Hebrew. This led Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion to produce an almost entirely different work out of the same work; for Aquila strove to reproduce word for word, Symmachus rather 'sense for sense,' while Theodotion did not differ much from the Septuagint."²

Until recently the fragments of Origen's *Hexapla* and St. Jerome's quotations were our sole source of knowledge of these translations. But in 1897 small portions of Aquila's version of 3 Kings xxi. (xx.) 7-17, 4 Kings xxiii. 11-27, Pss. xci. 6-13, xcii. 4-10, and fragments of Ps. xxii. were discovered in the form of a palimpsest at Cairo in the Geniza of the synagogue.

The later writing was a Hebrew liturgical work of the eleventh century; beneath was the text of Aquila in Greek uncial characters which palæographers attribute to the end of the fifth century or the beginning of the sixth. The exceeding literalness of Aquila's translation is evidenced in these fragments. But the most important feature is their confirmation of a statement made by Origen that though the ineffable name of God "is by the Greeks pronounced *Kύριος*, yet in the most accurate copies the name is written in Hebrew characters—not the present ones, but the archaic ones."³ In the fragments of Origen's *Hexapla* this is written IIIII, an attempt to represent יהוה in square characters by Greek capitals. St. Jerome, too, remarks that "the Tetragrammaton is even to-day found in certain Greek copies written in archaic characters."⁴ It is interesting, then, to find that in the present fragments of Aquila's text of *Kings* the Tetragrammaton occurs thus written ten times, though once, 4 Kings xxiii. 24, as there was no room for it the scribe has written *Kύριος* in an abbreviated form; this shows how the Tetragrammaton was pronounced.⁵

¹ In Hab. iii., P.L. XXVI. 326.

² *Præf. in Chronicon Eusebii*, P.L. XXV., and *Præf.* to his translation of Origen on *Canticles*.

³ On Ps. ii., ed. Delarue, II. 539.

⁴ *Præf. in Libros Samuelis*, P.L. XXVIII. 550.

⁵ See F. C. Burkitt, *Fragments of the Books of Kings according to the Translation of Aquila*, Cambridge, 1897; R.B., 1898, p. 293.

These three translations were much used by St. Jerome in his commentaries. In his various *Prefaces* to his translations of the books of the Old Testament from Hebrew he defends himself against those who complained that in so doing he was showing contempt for the Septuagint. He urges that after all he was only doing what Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus had done, for they translated "sometimes word for word, sometimes sense for sense, at other times in both ways combined." He argues, too, that "if a Jew like Aquila, Judaizing heretics like Symmachus and Theodotion, who deceitfully suppressed many mysteries touching the Saviour, are used in the Church—that is, in Origen's *Hexapla*, and are commented upon by ecclesiastics," then why not permit a baptized Christian like Jerome to do what he can?¹ Aquila was a Jew, and Jerome did not trust him. "For some time past," he writes to Marcella in 384, "I have been comparing Aquila's edition with the Hebrew to see whether the synagogue may not have made changes through hatred of Christ."²

III. Early Editorial Work on the Greek Versions.

Early Revisers of the Text—(a) Origen's Work.—The existence of these four versions side by side inevitably led to a great deal of confusion in the Greek text. This was accentuated by the fact, made known to us by Origen,³ that there also existed no less than three other Greek translations, which he, for convenience' sake, termed the "fifth," "sixth," and "seventh" versions.⁴ In order to remedy this state of things Origen planned and executed an immense work. He arranged the texts in six parallel columns. In the first he put the Hebrew text; in the second the same text transliterated into Greek characters; in the third he put the version of Aquila—presumably as being the most literal translation; in the fourth that of

¹ *Præf. in Job*, from the Hebrew, *P.L.* XXVIII. 1082; *cf. Præf. in Josue*, *ibid.* 464; *in Isaiam*, *ibid.* 772; *in Esdras*, *ibid.* 1404.

² *Ep.* xxxii. 1.

³ *H.E.* VI. xvi. 3.

⁴ St. Jerome on *Hab.* iii., *P.L.* XXV. 1326; *Præf. in Chron. Eusebii*, *ibid.* 36; on *Tit.* iii. 9; *Ep.* cvi.; and *Præf. to Origen on Canticles*. See, too, *P.S.B.A.* xxiv. 6, June, 1902, the "Quinta" of 4 Kings, by F. C. Burkitt.

Symmachus—who practically revised Aquila’s version; in the fifth Origen put his own revised edition of the Septuagint; and in the sixth place came the version by Theodotion as being a revision of the Septuagint. This great work is the famous *Hexapla*. In some parts, particularly in the poetical books, Origen added also the witness of the three other versions referred to above. The bulk of the completed work can be imagined; it must have numbered at least twelve thousand sheets! The critical portion of Origen’s task lay in the preparation of the fifth column. For the Septuagint differed immensely from the current Hebrew. How were these differences to be estimated, and how were they to be presented to the student? It was here that Origen made what we must consider his initial mistake. He assumed that the current Hebrew text was unassailable; hence all his efforts were directed to co-ordinating the Septuagint with the existing Hebrew. Passages, then, which appeared in the Septuagint but not in the Hebrew he marked with the sign known as the “obelus”; the close of the passage thus marked as doubtful was indicated by another sign known as the “metobelus.” Passages which were in the Hebrew but wanting in the Septuagint were inserted from Aquila, and marked with an asterisk at the commencement and with a “metobelus” at the close. The whole work was completed between A.D. 240-245. It was placed, probably by Origen himself, in the great library at Cæsarea in Palestine, where St. Jerome, as he tells us more than once,¹ studied it. This library was still existing in the sixth century, but after the destruction of Cæsarea by the Saracens in 638 we hear no more of the *Hexapla*.

The great work thus accomplished proved, however, the fruitful cause of an even greater confusion than that which Origen had set out to remedy. Though the *Hexapla* itself was too bulky to be reproduced, there was no reason why the column containing the “corrected” Septuagint should not be copied separately, and this was done by Eusebius and Pamphilus the Martyr in the fourth century.² But the

¹ On Titus iii. 9; *Adv. Rufin.* II. 27; *Vir. Ill.* iii., lxxv., cxiii.; *Ep.* cxli.; *Origenis Hexaplorum quæ supersunt*, ed. Field, 1867-1870.

² Cf. especially St. Jerome, *Ep.* cvi., and his *Præf. to Paralip.*

publication of the separated column rendered the critical signs unintelligible;¹ copyists were in consequence tempted to omit them, so that an edition of the Septuagint became current which was in reality an admixture of the original Septuagint text together with the readings derived from Aquila.

(b) *Hesychius*.—About the same time as the publication of the Hexaplaric Septuagint in Palestine a certain Hesychius undertook the revision of the Septuagint text current in Egypt, as well as a revision of the New Testament text. Traces of Hesychius' version are probably to be found in the Coptic versions of the Bible, and even in the *Codex Alexandrinus*.²

(c) *Lucian of Antioch* (d. 311) made an independent revision of the Septuagint text at Antioch; this is referred to by St. Jerome as the *Koinḗ*, or commonly current text, and as such is repudiated by him.³ Lucian's text is probably to be traced in St. Chrysostom⁴ and in the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, to a certain extent also in the Complutensian Polyglot; it became the standard text of Antioch and Constantinople.⁵

¹ St. Jerome, *Ep.* cvi. 55; *Ep.* cxii. 19, *P.L.* XXII. 928.

² For Hesychius see St. Jerome, *Præf. in Paralip.*, *Adv. Rufinum* II. See, too, *R.B.*, 1898, p. 183, and 1919, p. 289; October, 1924; and *J.T.S.*, January, 1910, p. 187; also *R.B.*, January, 1918, for the Hesychian and Hexaplaric text of *Nehemias*.

³ We must carefully distinguish, says St. Jerome, between "the edition which Origen and Eusebius of Cæsarea, and in fact all the Greek commentators, term the *Koinḗ*, or common, or Vulgate edition, and which is known by many as the Lucianic edition; and, on the other hand, the edition of the Septuagint given in the *Hexapla*, faithfully translated by me into Latin, and sung in the churches of Jerusalem and the East. . . . Now the *Koinḗ* is the old (Septuagint) edition corrupted at various times and places and at the copyists' whim; whereas the edition in the *Hexapla*, which we have translated, is the uncorrupted and immaculate Septuagint translation preserved in the copies of learned men. Consequently, any edition which differs from this one must unquestionably differ also from the Hebrew authoritative text" (*Ep.* cvi. 2, *P.L.* XXII. 838-839; cf. *Præf. in Paralip.* and on *Isa.* lviii. 11).

⁴ Thus see his text of *Isa.* xxiv. 16 in *Hom.* II. on 1 Cor.

⁵ Considerable interest has been manifested of late in the Lucianic text; thus, see *The Lucianic Text of 1 Kings* viii. 53, *J.T.S.*, April, 1909; *The Lucianic Text of Ezekiel*, *R.B.*, July, 1911; *The Lucianic Octateuch*, *R.B.*, October, 1911; *The Lucianic Text of 1-2 Samuel*, *R.B.*, July, 1919.

(d) The Syro-Hexapla of Paul of Tella is referred to the years 616-617 by a note appended to one of the rolls. It is a servile translation into Syriac of Origen's Septuagint column; its early date and its servility to the original make it of great value. It is of especial interest from the fact that in the second volume, still preserved at Milan, we have the Syriac version of *Daniel* according to the Septuagint, a translation which was displaced from the Septuagint by that of Theodotion.

The existence of all these editions and translations has tended to complicate the study of the Greek versions of the Bible we now possess, and has made it an almost hopeless task to attempt to restore the original Septuagint text. The resulting confusion in the Septuagint text cannot be better expressed than in St. Jerome's own words:

"If there remained," he writes to Chromatius, "an incorrupt edition of the work of the seventy translators as they gave it in Greek, you would be putting on me a superfluous task when you urge me to translate the Hebrew text into Latin. For when once a version has become familiar to the ear, more especially a version which served to stablish the faith of the new-born Church, it would be only fitting to give it at least the approval of our silence. But now that each district has its different copies and the original genuine translation has been corrupted and depraved, you think I ought either to decide which is the best existing version or to make a new work out of the old, and so retort on the scoffing Jews by, as it were, 'catching a weasel asleep.'¹

"Alexandria and Egypt boast that their Septuagint is that of Hesychius, while from Constantinople to Antioch men prefer the edition of Lucian the Martyr. The intermediate districts use the Palestinian edition due to Origen and popularized by Eusebius and Pamphilus. Thus the whole world is in disagreement owing to this triple source of difference. Now Origen was not content merely to publish copies of the four translations,² so that when one differed the text could readily be discovered from the agreement of the other three; he did a far bolder thing, for he actually inserted into the Septuagint translation Theodotion's version, and indicated the insertions by asterisks and the omissions by brackets (virgulis)."³

For Lucian's work on the New Testament see St. Jerome, *Præf. in Evangelia, ad Damasum*.

¹ "Cornicum oculos confingere," the crow attacks its prey in the eyes first; hence the proverb "to catch a crow by its eyes."

² Namely, those of Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus, and the Septuagint.

³ *Præf. in Librum Paralipomenon*, P.L. XXVIII. 1323-1325

IV. The Manuscripts of the Greek Bible.

These may be divided into three classes: (a) Papyri; (b) uncial MSS.—that is, those written in capitals; (c) cursive MSS., or those written in a running hand. It has long been the custom to draw a hard-and-fast line between the two latter classes of MSS., but it is beginning to be recognized that such a procedure is in no way justified.

As far as class (a) is concerned, it is at present only too scantily represented. The oldest fragments of the Bible which we possess are a papyrus containing Gen. xiv. 17, and another giving Pss. xii. 7-xv. 4; both of these are in the British Museum. A fourth-century papyrus also contains the *Hexapla* text of Ezech. v. 12-vi. 3; this is valuable as preserving Origen's "obeli." Third-century fragments of *St. John's Gospel*, as well as very early fragments of *St. Matthew* and also of *Genesis*, have been recovered from Egypt during the last few years, so that there is literally no knowing what surprises may be in store for us from this source; at present, however, the papyri form an almost negligible factor in the critical apparatus of the Biblical text. In class (b) the principal codices of the LXX are the following:

Codex Vaticanus, B.—The early history of this MS. is unknown; it is thought by some to be one of the copies furnished for Constantine by Eusebius.¹ Palæographers have no hesitation in attributing it to the fourth century, perhaps to the middle of it. This codex contained the whole Greek Bible save the four *Books of Maccabees*; it is almost complete even now, though mutilated in parts. It has no breathings, points are rare, accents are hardly ever given by the first hand, though some have been added by the correctors. It is written on vellum in beautiful penmanship. There are three columns on each page, an arrangement to which Eusebius (*loc. cit.*) may refer.

Codex Sinaiticus, Ⲁ (Aleph).—The recovery of this precious MS. by Tischendorf forms one of the most romantic pages of the story of textual criticism. He rescued it in fragments discovered in the course of several expeditions to

¹ See *Vita Const.*, iv. 36.

the convent of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai. It once embraced the whole Bible but is now considerably mutilated. It is written on vellum and has four columns on a page.¹ Experts assign it to the fourth century. There are, with one exception, no breathings or accents due to the first hand, though many correctors have worked over the MS., some as late as the seventh century. No uniform edition has yet been published. It contains the four *Books of Maccabees*. It is preserved partly at Leipsic and partly at Petrograd.

Codex Alexandrinus, A, the treasure of the British Museum. It was presented to James I. by Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Alexandria, and later of Constantinople. It is said to have been written by one Thecla whose identity is uncertain. This MS. differs from the preceding in that it contains tables of the books, also of the Psalms for morning and evening. It has, too, a certain amount of extraneous matter in the shape of the *Epistle of St. Athanasius* to Marcella on the *Psalms*. The Psalter also has the spurious Ps. cli. The text is written on vellum and has two columns to the page. There are no breathings or accents by the first hand. It is very possible that the MS. was written in Egypt, and in the fifth century, but the text has been corrected more than once. The tables show that the *Psalms of Solomon* once had a place in the MS. The New Testament is complete save for Matt. i-xxv. 6, John vi. 50-viii. 52, 2 Cor. iv. 13-xii. 7. At the end are added the two *Epistles* of St. Clement of Rome.

Codex Ephraimi Rescriptus, C.—This MS. is a palimpsest; its original writing was defaced in order that the vellum might be used for copying some works of St. Ephraim. The underlying Biblical text was probably written in Egypt, and in the fifth century. In the Old Testament portion we have only detached fragments of the *Sapiential Books* and *Job*. About three-fifths of the New Testament is left. The text is written in single columns.

Codex Marchalianus, Q.—This codex is of the greatest interest for the student of the Septuagint text, for while the actual text is that of Hesychius, the margin contains a

¹ See Eusebius, *loc. cit.*, *supra*.

number of variants from Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus, and the Hexapla Septuagint. Unfortunately it only gives the *Prophets*. The MS. is preserved at the Vatican, and was published in magnificent form by Ceriani in 1890.

V. The Printed Editions of the Greek Bible.

(a) The *Complutensian Polyglot* (1514-1517) was based upon no MSS. of great value; those lent by the Vatican did not include the great *Codex Vaticanus*, B. The same must be said of the famous *Aldine Septuagint* published two years later; it was remarkable rather for the beauty of the type than for the value of the text.

(b) The *Sixtine edition of Codex Vaticanus*, B, appeared in 1587. It is not too accurate, and the gaps in B are filled up "from other MSS." without any specification of the sources used.

(c) Ernest Grabe, a Prussian scholar of Oxford, did for *Codex Alexandrinus* what the Sixtine edition had done for *Codex Vaticanus*. His edition covers the years 1707-1720, though much of it was brought out subsequent to his death. The text used is that of *Alexandrinus* in the main, but it is supplemented where necessary from other MSS., yet in such a way that the student can always see what MS. is being followed.

(d) Holmes and Parsons re-edited the Sixtine edition of *Vaticanus*, 1798-1827; this is the *Oxford edition of the Septuagint*. The text is that of Sixtus, but insufficiently corrected. Its value lies in the immense amount of collated material in the footnotes.

(e) Tischendorf brought out a series of editions of the Sixtine edition, supplemented by the evidence of *Alexandrinus*, A, *Sinaiticus*, \aleph , and *Codex Ephraimi Rescriptus*, C, 1850, 1856, 1860, 1869, and a posthumous one in 1875. His work was continued by Nestle in his editions of 1880 and 1887, with a supplement containing a complete collation of the Sixtine with \aleph and B. The edition of 1887 celebrated the tercentenary of the original appearance of the Sixtine edition.

Meanwhile photographic facsimiles of the great codices

were being prepared. That of *Vaticanus* appeared in 1869-1881,¹ that of *Alexandrinus* in a reduced facsimile in 1915.²

We referred above to the editions of the Septuagint by Lucian and Hesychius, as also by Pamphilus and Eusebius. Paul de Lagarde undertook the task of recovering these texts as far as was possible, and republishing them with the fragments of Origen's Hexaplaric text of the Septuagint.³

A student may well ask at this stage whether such a thing as the Greek text as produced by the *Seventy* during the three centuries before Christ can now be discovered. What chance is there of recovering from all these series of MSS., recensions, re-editions, versions, patristic quotations, and the rest, anything which can claim to be the original Greek version? It must be confessed that we certainly have not yet got it. Still, all previous labours have been but the preliminary steps; the task of sifting the materials has only now begun. In 1885 appeared the first volume of Dr. Swete's *Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*.⁴ The principle adopted was to print the text of *B* and supply the gaps from *A*, or, failing both these, from *Aleph*, or, in the absence of the three just mentioned, from *D*, *E*, *F*, as, for example, in parts of *Genesis*.

Dr. Swete's work was confessedly but a preparation for a larger edition of which the *Octateuch*, viz. *Genesis* to *Ruth*, has appeared. This is a far more ambitious work. It proceeds on the same lines as the smaller edition—that is, it gives the text already set out by Dr. Swete, but in addition to notes concerned with orthographical details, the main body of the notes gives the substantial variants of all the extant uncials and of thirty cursives, also of the versions made from the Septuagint, as well as those furnished by Josephus, Philo, and the Fathers. Especial prominence is given to readings gleaned from the Old Latin and from the Syro-Hexapla which latter is so literal that

¹ This was not really satisfactory, and in 1890 was replaced by the splendid photographic edition by Cozza-Luzi from the Vatican Press.

² Published by the British Museum at the comparatively small cost of £1 15s.

³ *Librorum V. T. Canoniconum pars prior Græce*, Gottingen, 1883

⁴ First ed., 1885; fourth ed., 1909, in three volumes.

the underlying Greek can be readily detected. Yet even this great edition is but intended—

"To present as clearly and fully as is possible within reasonable limits of space the evidence available for the reconstruction of the text or texts of the LXX. At an early stage of the undertaking it was decided that it would be premature to attempt to provide a reconstructed or 'true' text in this edition."¹

The task of disintegrating the mass of evidence here accumulated has begun, and the first-fruits have appeared in a study of the Greek text of *Ruth* by Dr. Rahlfs.² He claims to detect (a) Origen's editorial work; this he is able to do with the help of the Syro-Hexapla; (b) Lucian's edition; (c) a recension discoverable in the Greek *Catenæ*, especially in that of Nicephorus; (d) a recension posterior to Origen and Lucian, and containing many corrections from the Hebrew text. He claims further that *B* is a pre-Hexapla text, while *A* has at least been corrected in accordance with Origen's work. The same is to be said of the Old Latin which on that supposition cannot be older than the fourth century. On these principles Rahlfs claims to be able to "edit" *B*; he does not publish it as it stands, but in the light of his conclusions he accords it the first place, subject however to corrections indicated by the other authorities. Whether these principles will be accepted by critics remains to be seen. What has been said will suffice to give us an idea of the immense amount of work which remains to be done before we can arrive at a definite Septuagint text.³

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¹ *The Old Testament in Greek, according to the Text of Codex Vaticanus, supplemented from Other Uncial Manuscripts, with a Critical Apparatus containing the Variants of the Chief Authorities for the Text of the Septuagint*, edited by Brooke and McLean, Cambridge University Press, 1906-1917. *The Octateuch*.

² *Studie über den griechischen Text des Buches Ruth in the Mitteilungen des Septuaginta, Unternehmens der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Band III., Heft 1, Berlin, 1922. Also *Das Buch Ruth griechisch als Probe einer kritischen Handausgabe der Septuaginta*, Stuttgart, 1922.

³ For the most recent attempt at a classification of the MSS. of the Septuagint see *J. T. S.*, April, 1925.

of the Greek Translation of 1-4 Kings, January, 1907; also *P.E.F.*, October, 1906; on *The Date of the Prophets*, July, 1903 and 1906; on *The Bisection of Books amongst Different Translators*, October, 1907; on *The Dates of Translation of Various Books*, July, 1906; *Expos. Times*, August, 1919. For the Septuagint text of Samuel see Woods in *Studia Biblica*, I.; R. Ottley, *Isaias according to the Septuagint*, Cambridge University Press, 1904-1906; on *The Greek Text of Daniel and Chronicles*, *P.S.B.A.*, xxix, 1-2, 1907; on *The Double Text of Jeremias*, *R.B.*, 1898, pp. 134 ff.; *The Greek Language and Bible in the Early Church*, C. H. Turner, *J.T.S.*, October, 1909.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LATIN VERSIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

I. The Old-Latin Version.

- i. Its Origin.
- ii. Manuscripts of the Old-Latin.

II. St. Jerome's Life and Work.

- i. His Preparatory Work : Translations, Revisions and Commentaries.
- ii. The Vulgate.

III. The Vulgate in the Church.

- i. St. Augustine and the Vulgate.
- ii. The Middle Ages and the Vulgate.
- iii. The Vulgate in the Thirteenth Century.
- iv. The Council of Trent and the Vulgate.
 - (a) The Sixtine Vulgate.
 - (b) The Clementine Vulgate.
 - (c) The Authenticity of the Vulgate.

IV. Revision of the Vulgate.

V. Manuscripts of the Vulgate.

VI. Genealogical Tree of the Vulgate Bible.

VII. Latinity of the Vulgate.

VIII. Bibliography.

I. The Old-Latin Version.

The Old-Latin version is commonly known as the *Itala*, a term which should, however, be avoided, as it is apt to mislead. The origin of this translation is involved in much obscurity. The *Acts* of the Scillitan martyrs, who suffered on July 17, 180, at Scillium in Pro-Consular Numidia, exist in a Latin text which is generally accepted as genuine.

These martyrs told the prefect that they possessed “the Four Gospels of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Epistles of St. Paul, and all divinely inspired Scripture.” Thus these *Acts* may prove the existence of an accepted Latin text in Africa before the close of the second century. Similarly the martyrs of Vienne, A.D. 177, seem to have known a Latin version from which they quote freely.¹ It is generally conceded now that Tertullian had a version in Latin before him as he wrote, and that he did not merely translate for himself from Greek as he required.² Hence it is allowable to suppose that a Latin version of the Bible existed early in the second century.

i. *Origin of the Old-Latin*.—Ever since the days of Cardinal Wiseman the view that there was one original translation of the Bible into Latin, and that it took its rise in Africa, has been held by many as almost demonstrated.³ Wiseman argued: (a) that there was no need for a Latin translation in Rome, for it was a Greek-speaking city; (b) that St. Jerome only knew of two Latins who wrote in Latin previous to Tertullian, *viz.* Apollonius and Victor, the latter of whom died A.D. 197; (c) that there are many Africanisms in the Old-Latin version; (d) that the divergences existing between the existing Old-Latin MSS. could all be reduced to a common basis, and merely indicated the vagaries of copyists. Every one of these statements has been controverted, and it now seems fairly certain that various Latin renderings were published in the early days of Christianity. Thus, as against Wiseman’s arguments, it is maintained: (a) that the “Plebs” in Rome would certainly need a Latin translation; (b) that inscriptions at Pompeii and Herculaneum are mostly in Latin—this is especially the case with the Christian inscriptions; (c) that the argument from “Africanisms” is precarious, for all the examples

¹ *H.E.* V. i.

² Mangelot considers it exceedingly doubtful whether Tertullian had a Latin translation before him (*Patrie et Date de la Première Version Latine du Nouveau Testament*, 1911); but Labriolle, *B.A.L.A.C.*, 1914, pp. 210-213, holds to the view we have given in the text.

³ *Two Essays on 1 John v. 7* in the *Catholic Magazine*, 1832-33, reprinted in *Essays on Various Subjects*, 1853. The same view is upheld by H. J. White in Scrivener-Miller, *Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, 1894, II., p. 42.

alleged can be paralleled from the writings of undoubted Latins such as Plautus, Quintilian, etc.; thus the Latin translation of the works of St. Irenæus and the *Canon of Muratori* contain as many "Africanisms" as do the Old-Latin MSS.¹ It also seems impossible to concede Wiseman's position with regard to the fundamental unity of the existing MSS., for we actually have different Old-Latin translations of *Tobias*, *Baruch*, and 1-2 *Maccabees*. Moreover, St. Augustine's well-known words about the multiplicity of Latin texts can hardly be explained save of different translations. He says:²

"The writers who translated from Hebrew into Greek can be counted; not so those who translated into Latin. For whenever in the early ages of the faith a Greek codex came into a person's hands, and he fancied he had sufficient knowledge of the two languages to do so, he ventured to make a translation."

These words cannot without undue violence be read in any but their plain sense; a perusal of any of the Saint's commentaries will show that he really did mean that there was a crowd of early translators.³ It is the same with St. Jerome who writes to Pope Damasus: "If we are told we must trust the Latin copies, then let people tell us which ones, for there are almost as many different versions as copies";⁴ and again: "apud Latinos tot sunt exemplaria quot codices."⁵

ii. **Manuscripts of the Old-Latin Versions of the Old Testament.**—These consist for the most part of fragments of various books; they have been edited by Dom Sabatier.⁶ Of *Tobias*, *Judith*,

¹ Yet it is noteworthy that Rendel Harris, *The Codex Sangallensis: a Study in the Text of the Old-Latin Gospels*, 1891, takes such "Africanisms" for granted.

² *Doct. Christ.* II. xiv-xv.

³ See especially his *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, c.g. on Ps. xxxiii. 4, and notably on Ps. cxviii.; *Sermo cccxix.* 3, *De Peccatorum Meritis*, I. xi. (13), *Ep.* clvii. 19, etc. See a good discussion by Kennedy in *H.D.B.* III., *Latin Versions*.

⁴ *Præfatio in Quatuor Evangelia*, P.L. XXIX. 526. Cf. *Præf. in Librum Dierum* (according to the LXX), and *in Libros Salomonis* (according to the LXX), P.L. XXIX. 404, and more explicitly, *Ep.* xviii. 21, "In the Latin MSS., owing to the variety of translators . . .," P.L. XXII. 376.

⁵ *Præf. in Josue*, P.L. XXVIII. 463.

⁶ *Bibliorum Sacrorum latinæ versiones antiquæ, seu Vetus Itala*, Rheims, 1739-1749. Sabatier understood St. Augustine's words about

Ruth and *Esther* we have several MSS. which differ considerably, though it is maintained that all are probably dependent on one original.¹ The *Psalter* in the Old-Latin version has been much studied of late.² The most interesting MS. is *Veronensis, R.*³ An Old-Latin version of the Pentateuch, the *Codex Lugdunensis*, is practically complete.⁴ Copies of the Old-Latin continued to be produced till quite late; thus in the *Speculum*, formerly attributed to St. Augustine but really dating from the eighth or ninth century, the quotations are all from an Old-Latin text save those from *Ruth*, *Abdias* and *Jonas*. It is difficult to discover from what Greek text this ancient version was made, but it is maintained that at any rate in the historical books the underlying Greek text is Lucianic.⁵ In the Clementine Vulgate *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Baruch* and 1-2 *Maccabees* still appear in the Old-Latin version since St. Jerome positively declined to translate them.⁶ *Tobias* and *Judith* he translated from Chaldaic, but under protest, as not being in the Hebrew Bible.⁷ The Old-Latin version appears where perhaps one would least expect it, namely in some of the *Introits* for the Masses of the Sunday.

the "Itala" to mean "the Latin version called *Itala*, which I prefer and therefore use." He therefore endeavoured to reconstruct St. Augustine's Latin Bible, spoke of it as the *Itala*, and, through the influence he exercised, the term *Itala* came to be applied to all pre-Hieronymian Latin versions. (See Burkitt, *J.T.S.*, January, 1910, p. 259.) *Collectanea Biblica Latina, cura Monachorum Sti. Benedicti*, vols. i-v., 1912-1921, give the Psalms in *Codd. Cassinensis, Rehdigeranus, Vercellensis*, and the *Freisingen Fragments*; *cf. R.B.*, January, 1922, pp. 145 ff.; and *J.T.S.*, January, 1923, pp. 219 ff. R. L. Bensly, *The Missing Fragments of the Latin Translation of 4 Esdras*, 1875. *Levitici et Numerorum Versio antiqua Itala*, London, 1868.

¹ So Kennedy, *H.D.B.* III., col. 60.

² See Capelle, *Le Texte du Psautier Latin en Afrique*, Rome, 1913. Capelle shows that Tertullian had a Latin Psalter very similar in text to that used by St. Cyprian; he also shows that several Latin versions of the Psalter existed side by side; also that the Psalter used by St. Augustine in his *Enarrationes in Psalmos* is much akin to the Verona Psalter, *R.*

³ *Psalterium Duplex cum Canticis*, ed. by Bianchini in *Vindiciae Canonis Scripturarum*, Rome, 1740; *P.L.* XXIX.

⁴ *Pentateuchi Versio Latina Antiquissima*, ed. Robert, Paris, 1881. *Codices Lugdunenses Antiquissimi, le Scriptorium de Lyon, la plus ancienne école calligraphique de France*, E. A. Lowe, Lyons, 1924.

⁵ Kennedy, *H.D.B.* III., *Latin Versions*; *cf. R.B.*, July, 1921.

⁶ See *Prefaces* to his translations of *Samuel* and *Malachias*, of *Jeremias*, and of the *Books of Solomon*, both from the Hebrew and from the Greek, *P.L.* XXVIII. 556-557, 848, 1242; XXIX. 404. Curiously enough, in his edition of the *Divina Bibliotheca*, or St. Jerome's translation of the Old and New Testaments, Martiannay has omitted *Baruch* altogether, though adding the other books.

⁷ *P.L.* XXIX. 24 and 39.

II. St. Jerome's Life and Work.

No true view of the Vulgate version of the Bible could be formed without some idea of the life and work of one who has ever been acknowledged as the greatest Biblical scholar the world has seen, and who was undoubtedly raised up by God to do the work which will always be associated with his name, namely the revision of the Latin New Testament and the translation of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament into Latin.

Born at Strido in Dalmatia about the year 345, Jerome was early sent to Rome for his education. He was baptized at the age of twenty, and in 372 he went to the East where he took up his abode in the desert of Chalcis and devoted himself to the study of Hebrew and Greek,¹ of which early studies he himself furnishes us with an account.² In 379 we find him at Constantinople where he attended the lectures of St. Gregory of Nyssa.³ About this time, too, he translated the *Chronicle* of Eusebius.

i. His Preparatory Work: Translations, Revisions and Commentaries.—It was at this time that he became acquainted with Pope Damasus at whose request he wrote on the meaning of the word "Seraphim."⁴ Damasus summoned him to Rome in 382, and here, at the Pope's desire, he corrected the New Testament by the Greek.

"Only early manuscripts have been used. But to avoid any great divergences from the Latin which we are accustomed to read, I have used my pen with some restraint; and while I have corrected only such passages as seemed to convey a different meaning, I have allowed the rest to remain as they are."⁵

At Rome, too, he made his first revision of the Psalter by the Greek text; this is known as the *Roman Psalter*.⁶ His second revision of the Psalter was made at Bethlehem about 386; he says in the *Preface* that he had made his former revision cursorily according to the Septuagint;⁷ it

¹ *Ep.* xxii. 7, cxxv. 12.

² *Ibid.* lxxxiv. 3.

³ *Ibid.* i. 1, lii. 8, on Isa. vi. 1, *P.L.* XXIV. 93.

⁴ *Ep.* xviii.

⁵ *Pref. in Evangelia*, *P.L.* XXIX. 528; *Ep.* xxvii.

⁶ *Ep.* lxxi. 5, cvi., cxii. 19, cxxxiv.; *Adv. Ruf.* ii. 30, *Pref.* to his version of the Psalter from the Hebrew; see *P.L.* XXVIII. 1123-1240.

⁷ *Ep.* cvi. 46; the *Roman* and *Gallican* Psalters are given in parallel columns in *P.L.* XXIX. 119-598.

had been already much corrupted by copyists. The second revision was made according to the Hexapla, and attention was paid to the variations between that text and the Hebrew; obeli and asterisks were introduced in order to indicate these discrepancies. This revision is known as the *Gallican Psalter* because, becoming speedily popular, it was introduced into the churches of Gaul by St. Gregory of Tours; it is the Psalter which is now in use throughout the Church save in St. Peter's at Rome, St. Mark's at Venice, and the Duomo at Milan, where the former revision is still used.¹

But St. Jerome was already becoming convinced of the necessity of recurring to the Hebrew original if the true sense of the sacred Scriptures was to be apprehended. In 379-80 he had translated the *Chronicle* of Eusebius; in his *Preface* he dwells upon the difficulties besetting all translations; "some," he says, "consider the sacred writings harsh, not being aware that they are a translation from the Hebrew."² Even at this early date Jerome shows a full knowledge of the work done by the early translators, *viz.* the Seventy, Theodotion, Symmachus, and Aquila, and even of those translations which, since the days of Origen, had passed current under the titles of "the fifth, sixth, and seventh" versions.³

In 385 Jerome, who had made many enemies by his outspoken criticism, left Rome on the death of Damasus, and in 386 we find him settled at Bethlehem⁴ where he remained till his death in 420. His life here was one of unremitting labour. Sulpicius Severus⁵ says of him, "Totus in lectione, totus in libris est; non die non nocte requiescit; aut legit aliquid semper aut scribit." His activity at this period seems almost incredible. Between the years 386 and 392 he completed his commentary on *Ecclesiastes*; he translated the work of Didymus on the *Holy Spirit*; he wrote commentaries

¹ The Psalm *Venite*, xciv. in the *Invitatory* of Matins, is taken from the *Roman Psalter*; when recited in the body of the Office, as on the Epiphany, the version contained in the second revision is used; this *Gallican Psalter*, forms part of the Vulgate. An excellent edition of the Psalter, as translated from the Hebrew, has now appeared: *Psalterium juxta Hebræos Hieronymi*, edited, with *Introduction* and *apparatus criticus*, by J. M. Harden, S.P.C.K.

² P.L. XXVII. 36.

³ *Ibid.* 35-36.

⁴ *Ep.* lxvi. 14.

⁵ *Dial.* i. 8.

on *Ephesians*, *Galatians*, *Titus* and *Philemon*, a treatise on Pss. x-xvi.; he translated Origen on *St. Luke* and on the *Psalms*; he further translated Eusebius on *The Names of Hebrew Places*,¹ wrote the *Book of Hebrew Proper Names*,² that on *Hebrew Questions in Genesis*,³ also the *Lives* of St. Paul, the first hermit, and of SS. Malchus and Hilarion,⁴ as well as the invaluable treatise *De Viris Illustribus*.⁵ But more wonderful than all, he appears—from repeated allusions in his writings—to have at this time revised the whole Septuagint (he always speaks of the existing Latin translation of the Old Testament by this name) by Origen's Hexapla.⁶ The only portions of this gigantic task which have come down to us are *Job* and the *Psalter*;⁷ the rest, so he tells us, was stolen from his locker.⁸

¹ P.L. XXIII. 859-928.

² P.L. XXIII. 774-858.

³ P.L. XXIII. 935-1010.

⁴ P.L. XXIII. 17-60.

⁵ P.L. XXIII. 602-720.

⁶ The very immensity of this task seems to have made critics blind to the force of the arguments in favour of the view that St. Jerome really did translate the entire Septuagint. Thus note St. Augustine (*Ep.* cxvi. 34-35, *inter Epp. Sti. Hier.*): "Send me, I beg, your translation of the Septuagint, which I did not know you had published. . . . I want your translation of the Septuagint so that we may, as far as possible, be delivered from the great lack of skill shown by the Latin translators of all sorts (*qualescunque*) who have undertaken the task." Similarly St. Jerome himself: "When you [Augustine] ask why my former translation of the canonical books has the asterisks and obeli inserted, while I now publish another translation without them . . . the former is a translation of the Septuagint . . . the latter from the Hebrew" (*Ep.* cxii. 19). Again: "Have I ever said anything against the Seventy, whose work, after most diligent correction, I translated into my own tongue several years back for studious folk?" [*Adv. Rufin.*, ii. 24; *cf.* iii. 25, P.L. XXIII. 448, 476; *Ep.* lxxi. 5, *Præf.* in *Job* (Hebrew), P.L. XXVIII. 1080; also *Præf.* in *Libros Salomonis*, from the Hebrew, P.L. XXVIII. 1243; in his *Preface* to his translation of the same books of Solomon from the Septuagint St. Jerome seems, by his deliberate omission of *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus*, to imply that he had translated all the rest (P.L. XXIX. 404)].

⁷ P.L. XXIX.

⁸ *Ep.* cxxxiv. 2: "We are suffering from a great dearth of copyists of Latin in this district; hence I am unable to do what you ask, especially as regards the edition of the Septuagint with asterisks and obeli. Much of my previous toil I have lost through somebody's fraud!" Cassiodorus declares that he discovered the stolen portions: "The third division is in a larger volume, and written in clearer type; it consists of ninety-four quartos (*quaterniones*), and contains the translation of the Seventy Interpreters in forty-eight books. . . . This

ii. *The Vulgate*.—We must also assign to this period, about A.D. 390, the commencement of his greatest work, the translation of the whole of the Hebrew Bible into Latin. For this task his previous studies had prepared him as no Biblical scholar before or since ever has been prepared. He took immense pains to perfect himself in his knowledge of Hebrew and Chaldaic, and has left us an amusing account of the trouble it cost him to acquire a real mastery over these languages.¹

Origen had attempted the task of editing a critical edition of the Septuagint by comparing it with the Hebrew, St. Jerome had attempted to do the same for the Latin version by comparing it with the Greek, and also by translating it; but his efforts in this direction soon convinced him that the Septuagint was a hopeless criterion owing to the various translations which had been made and which had so mutually affected one another that it was now impossible to arrive with any certainty at the original Septuagint text. Hence he felt compelled to go, as he expresses it, "to the fountain-head."²

But he had received no commission to translate the Hebrew text, such as he had received from Pope Damasus with regard to the correction of the New Testament. His work was private and without authority. The story of its gradual publication is of interest as showing the lines on which he worked. In the catalogue of his works which he

text, corrupted through being translated by so many hands, was most carefully corrected and set in order by Jerome" (*Instit.*, xiii.).

¹ See, for instance, *Preface to Daniel*, P.L. XXVIII. 1292; cf. on Titus iii. 9, P.L. XXVI. 594; *Preface to Chronicles* (lxx.), P.L. XXIX. 401; on Amos iii. 11, P.L. XXV. 1019; *Prol.* to comment. on *Ephesians*, and on Ephes. v. 32; *Prol.* to comment. on *St. Matthew*; the study of Hebrew has, he says, made his Latin rusty, *Ep.* xxix. 7. Also *Preface to Job* (from the Hebrew), where he says: "If my task has been to replace omissions, to correct mistakes, to set forth the Church's mysteries in pure and faithful language, ought I to be blamed by fastidious or malicious readers? Let them keep their old volumes, written though they be on purpled parchments or in gold and silver characters, or even in uncial letters as they style them; after all, these are really only burdensome things they have toiled at, they are not 'books'; let them leave me and mine our poor paper copies which contain correct if not beautiful manuscripts!" P.L. XXVIII. 1081.

² *Pref. in Lib. Hebraicarum Quæstionum in Genesim*, and *Pref. in Comment. in Ecclesiasten*, P.L. XXIII. 936 and 1011.

drew up in 392 he says: "The Old Testament I have translated in accordance with the Hebrew."¹ He seems to have intended publishing the whole at one time,² but it appears³ that the translation of *Samuel* and *Kings* was published first, before 392, and was immediately followed by that of the sixteen prophets. By 393 he had also translated *Job*,⁴ but other portions already translated were withheld from publication for the time being, presumably till he should see what kind of reception those met with which had already been put into circulation. *Esdras* and *Nehemias* were published perhaps in the following year⁵ and, apparently at the same time, the Pentateuch.⁶ A long illness and the invasion of the Huns caused delay, and it is not till 398 that we find him writing to Chromatius and Heliodorus that at their request he has "dedicated to them three days' work, viz. the translation of the three books of Solomon," *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and *Canticle of Canticles*.⁷ This gives us some idea of his rate of working. We are not to gather from it that he was slipshod in his work, his long and intimate acquaintance with the Bible, as well as his revision of the Latin by the Septuagint, had given him an immense facility;⁸ moreover it appears from many passages that he always worked with the assistance of a number of amanuenses. Again illness supervened, but he writes to Lucinius, a Spaniard, that he has put at the disposal of the copyists whom Lucinius has sent to Bethlehem to make copies of Jerome's works "the canon of the Hebrew verity—except the Octateuch, which I have at present in hand."⁹ By the "Octateuch," he means the first eight books, and it is not easy to understand how he can say this—since *Genesis* had already been published—save on the supposition that he was engaged in revising his former translation. A gap of some five years now intervened, and it was not until 404 that the work was com-

¹ *Vir. Ill.*, cxxxv.

² *Prol. Galeatus* or *Præf. in Libros Samuelis*, P.L. XXVIII. 511.

³ *Ep.* xlix. 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Præf. in Esdram*, P.L. XXVIII. 1403.

⁶ P.L. XXVIII. 152.

⁷ *Præf. in Libros Salomonis*, from the Hebrew, P.L. XXVIII. 1241.

⁸ *Præf. to Comment. in Matth.*, on Matt. xxvi. 53, xxvii. 51; *Prol. to lib. ii.* on Ephes., *Ep.* lxxiii. 10, *Contra Vigilant.*, 13, etc.

⁹ *Ep.* lxxv. 5.

pleted by the publication of the rest of the Pentateuch and *Esther*.¹

It would be superfluous to praise the Vulgate version. On all sides it has been acknowledged as the most faithful translation possible. Time and again the student who compares it with the Hebrew is astounded at the scrupulous fidelity with which St. Jerome has rendered the original. Not the least amazing feature of the translation is the success with which it is kept within the same compass as the original. There is no evasion by paraphrase; it is a word-for-word translation; yet it is not barbarous. As St. Jerome himself remarks:

"If people who are accustomed to reading the works of cultured men laugh at us for novel words and commonplace expressions, we can refer them to those works of Cicero in which he deals with philosophical questions. They will there see how necessity has driven him to introduce such portents in the way of words as no Latin ears ever heard before; this, too, when he is translating into Latin from Greek which is not so remote a language!"²

In these days of minute textual criticism the Vulgate, especially, of course, in the New Testament, is of immense importance, since its strictly literal character enables us to form a fairly accurate notion of the Greek text which lay at the back of it and which is necessarily of far earlier date than any MS. we now possess: "*Codicum Græcorum emendata collatione, sed veterum*," he writes to Pope Damasus."³ Harnack himself allows that on the whole critics have not hitherto attached sufficient importance to St. Jerome's revision, and that not one of our Greek manuscripts so closely approximates to the original as does St. Jerome's text.⁴

St. Jerome had formulated for himself very precise principles in translating. "*Sensum non verba*," he writes to St. Augustine,⁵ yet this principle is not to be applied when it is question of the Bible:

¹ See *Præf.* in Jos., *P.L.* XXVIII. 461.

² On Gal. i. 14, *P.L.* XXVI. 323.

³ *Præf.* in *Quatuor Evangelia*, ad Damasum, *P.L.* XXIX. 528.

⁴ Quoted by Labriolle, *Latin Christianity*, p. 352, *n.* See, too, *Expos. Times*, April, 1910; *Expositor*, February, 1922; *J.T.S.*, January and October, 1912; *D.R.*, July, 1906; *B.S.*, April, 1918.

⁵ *Ep.* lxxiv.

"I not only acknowledge, but boldly declare, that in translating from the Greek, save in Holy Scripture, where the very order of the words is a sacrament (*mysterium*), I have rendered sense for sense and not word for word."¹ Yet sometimes he permits himself a large freedom. Thus he allows many things to stand, not because he approved of them, but because long custom made it difficult to change them.² This, of course, was particularly true of his work on the Gospels which he only corrected, but it is also true of his translation from the Hebrew where his *Commentaries* sometimes show us how he would have preferred to translate a passage but did not do so.³ More than once he insists that he has not consciously deviated from the Hebrew text,⁴ yet there can be no doubt that at times he added clauses by way of interpretation; thus, in one chapter of *Josue* we find "id est vallis Ennom," "id est fontem solis," "id est lapidem Boen," which have no equivalent in the Hebrew.⁵ Nor is Jerome always consistent in his rendering of Hebrew words for which he often has several equivalents.⁶ At times, too, he was misled by his Rabbinic teachers;⁷ and while he felt that the Septuagint had deliberately veiled the real meaning of *Isaias* in places,⁸ and that Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus had equally deliberately—though for a different reason—obscured Messianic passages,⁹ he himself was at times tempted unduly to amplify such passages. Yet he speaks with true humility of mistakes he feels that he has made in translating.¹⁰

¹ *Ep.* lviii. 5, cvi. 3, on Ephes. i. 14, 15, iii. 7, v. 4; *Præf. in Chronicon Eusebii*, P.L. XXVII. 36-37.

² *Præf. in Quatuor Evangelia*.

³ *Cp.* his translation of Gen. xxiv. 2, with his notes on the same passage in *Quæst. Hebr. in Genesim* on the same passage; *cf.* *Præf. in Librum Dierum* (from the Hebrew), P.L. XXVIII. 1323.

⁴ *Præf. in Psalterium* (from the Hebrew), *Præf. in Libros Samuelis*, P.L. XXVIII. 1125 and 557.

⁵ Jos. xviii. 16-17; *cf.* Lev. xix. 33, 1 Sam. xvii. 12.

⁶ *E.g.* מַצֹּר in Isa. xix. 6, xxxvii. 25, Mich. vii. 12, 4 Kings xix. 24. The student will find an instructive example in the various renderings of מַעוֹן in Jud. x. 12, 1 Paral. iv. 41, 2 Paral. xxvi. 7-8, Esdras ii. 50, Job ii. 11.

⁷ See *R.B.*, July, 1916.

⁸ *Præf. in Isaiam*, P.L. XXVIII.

⁹ "Aquila the Jew, Symmachus, and Theodotion, judaizing heretics, are received, though by their deceptive translation they obscured many mysteries touching the Saviour," *Præf. in Job* (from the Hebrew), P.L. XXVIII. 1082.

¹⁰ On Isa. xix. 14, P.L. XXIV. 184.

III. The Vulgate in the Church.

i. **St. Augustine and the Vulgate.**—St. Jerome's work met with much opposition. St. Augustine's attitude towards it is generally represented as adverse, but this is not a fair view of the African Bishop's position. He held the Septuagint in the deepest respect, and hence urged St. Jerome to devote his labour rather to a revision of that version than to the publication of a new one.¹

As a matter of fact, St. Augustine's intense love for Holy Scripture compelled him to recognize the immense value of St. Jerome's labours. Thus Burkitt has shown² that in the church at Hippo during St. Augustine's episcopate the Gospels were, from 400 onwards, read according to St. Jerome's correction; and further, while adhering to the Old-Latin version of the Old Testament, St. Augustine could and did use the new rendering for the sake of its excellence; thus he quotes³ Amos vi. 1-16 from St. Jerome's version, "not according to the Seventy . . . who are sometimes obscure (by the 'Seventy' he of course means the Old-Latin version) . . . but according to the Latin translation made from the Hebrew by the priest Jerome who is most skilled in either language." But Augustine also says: "Of all these renderings the *Itala* is to be preferred, since it adheres more closely to the words[of the original], and gives the sense more clearly: In ipsis autem interpretationibus, *Itala* cæteris præferatur; nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiæ."⁴ These words have given rise to much discussion. Burkitt maintained that by the *Itala* St. Augustine meant Jerome's Vulgate;⁵ Reuss had long ago suggested that he was referring to Jerome's translation from the Septuagint.⁶ It is true that, as Burkitt pointed out, the Latin text of St. Jerome's correction of the Gospels was in use at Hippo from A.D. 400 onwards, and is the text adopted by St. Augustine in his *De Consensu Evangelistarum*.⁷ But the real difficulty arises from the fact that Augustine wrote the *De Doctrina Christiana* in 397, whereas St. Jerome's translation from the Hebrew was not completed till 404. Dom de Bruyne thought that perhaps when Augustine re-edited the treatise in 427 he added this statement about the *Itala* (on the hypothesis—the Vulgate);⁸ but this seems far-fetched. Burkitt's view has

¹ *Ep. civ. inter Epp. Sti. Hier.*

² Burkitt, *Old Latin and Itala*, 1896.

³ *De Doctr. Christ.*, iv. 16; cf. *De Civ. Dei*, xviii. 43.

⁴ *De Doctr. Christ.*, II. xv.

⁵ *The Old Latin and Itala*, 1896; cf. *R.B.*, 1897, p. 474; cf. Rönsch, *Itala und Vulgata*, Leipsic, 1875.

⁶ *History of the New Testament*, cf. *H.D.B.* III., *Latin Versions*, p. 57, n.

⁷ *Old Latin and Itala*, pp. 55-65, and *J.T.S.*, April, 1910.

⁸ See *R.B.*, July, 1921, p. 464.

been severely criticized by Mercati,¹ Vogels,² and Denk,³ amongst others; it has been upheld by Zahn, Corsen, and also by Berger⁴ who is one of the greatest authorities on the Vulgate text. It is certainly surprising to find St. Isidore of Seville, when speaking of Jerome's Vulgate, practically quoting Augustine's words;⁵ the same is done by Rabanus Maurus. But in addition to the difficulty arising from the date of the *De Doctrina Christiana*, there is the greater difficulty arising from the very nature of the expression used by St. Augustine. Had he wanted to refer to Jerome's Vulgate—especially if his words are due to a revision made so late as 427, when St. Jerome had been dead seven years—why did he not name the author? He does so further on in the same treatise, as we have seen. Endeavours have been made to amend Augustine's text and read "illa" for *Itala*,⁶ but then it would be difficult to construe the passage "illa cæteris præferatur; nam est verborum tenacior."; we should expect "quæ." It is noticeable that a little lower down in the same section Augustine says "ut superius dixi, horum quoque interpretum qui verbis tenacius inhæserunt," as though he had been making a merely general statement that those versions were to be followed which adhered most closely to the original.

We think it is best to make no attempts at emendation, but to take Augustine's words as they stand, and ask what he is likely to have meant by "Itala." In the first place, he uses elsewhere the adjective "Italus," e.g. "Italæ gentes."⁷ Secondly, the "diocese" of Italy comprised the northern portion of the peninsula⁸ where he had first seriously studied the Bible under St. Ambrose. Thirdly, the Latin Psalter he uses in his *Enarrationes in Psalmos* coincides very closely with the *Codex Veronensis* of the Psalter, a MS. belonging to precisely that portion of Italy.⁹ It should not be forgotten that Augustine was most meticulous about securing the best possible Latin text; thus, he speaks disparagingly of "the best Latin text we could find";¹⁰ he rejects a reading in Gal. iii. 19 because "the Apostle has not got this according to the best codices, especially the Greek ones, which I have since

¹ *R.B.*, 1897, pp. 474-478.

² See *J.T.S.*, January, 1910.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ See Kennedy, *Latin Versions*, *H.D.B.* III., and *R.B.*, July, 1921, p. 464; January, 1922, p. 140.

⁵ *Etymol.* vi. 4.

⁶ *R.B.*, July, 1921, p. 465. The same proposal was long ago made by Bentley who read "et illa," and changed "nam" into "quæ."

⁷ *De Civ. Dei*, iii. 26.

⁸ Kenrick in the *Theological Review*, 1874, quoted in *H.D.B.* III., *Latin Versions*.

⁹ This codex is generally regarded as containing an Old-Latin text, but Vallarsi, the editor of St. Jerome's works, maintains that it gives a post-Hieronymian text, *P.L.* XXIX., p. 18.

¹⁰ *Retr.* II. xxiv. 2.

examined."¹ Faustus has probably lit upon a bad text;² he should use good codices;³ he should be well aware that the principal variant readings are well known to students.⁴ Again, Augustine has not got "the Psalter translated by St. Jerome from the Hebrew"; he adds: "I myself am not translating, but correcting by the Greek text certain mistakes in the Latin copies";⁵ finally, while correcting a mistaken quotation of Ecclus. xxxiv. 30 by Donatus, Augustine adds: "Yet we learned later that many codices, though African ones, did so read that passage."⁶ This last remark is of great interest, for it seems to show that it was the African type of text which Augustine had learned to look upon with disfavour, and, conversely, that he thought highly of the type of text which circulated in Italy; in other words, the "Itala."⁷

ii. The Middle Ages and the Vulgate.—Despite much opposition, however, the new version gradually made its way until we find St. Gregory the Great saying: "I comment on (*dissero*, see Acts xvii. 2) the new translation; but, as the exigencies of illustration require, I use testimonies derived now from the old, now from the new; so that since the Apostolic See, over which I by God's authority preside, makes use of either, so my toil may derive support from either."⁸ A century later the Ven. Bede speaks of the Vulgate, St. Jerome's Vulgate, simply as "our version."

But the old and the new versions existed side by side, and the inevitable result followed—each affected the other. Those familiar with the older version were tempted to write in the margins of their copies of the more recent one readings from the familiar version. A revision was soon necessary—not a correction of St. Jerome's work so much as a restoration of the text to the state in which it left his hands. This work was attempted by Alcuin *c.* 800, Lanfranc *c.* 1089, St. Stephen Harding *c.* 1150.⁹ Alcuin's revision, undertaken for Charlemagne, was the most important of all

¹ *Locutionum in Hexateuchum* I., II.; P.L. XXXIV. 501, 504, written about A.D. 419. See, too, *Ep.* cxlix. 12, where he complains of the Latin translators who do not always render the same Greek word by the same Latin equivalent.

² *Contra Faustum*, vi. 9, xiii. 5.

³ *Ibid.* ⁴ *Ibid.* xi. 2.

⁵ *Ep.* cclxi. 5 (unfortunately its date is not known); P.L. XXXIII. 1077.

⁶ *Retr.* I. xxi., P.L. XXXII. 618.

⁷ See Douais, *Saint-Augustin et la Bible*, R.B., January and July, 1893.

⁸ Dedicatory Letter to Leander, v., prefixed to the *Moralia in Job*.

⁹ See Martin, *S. Etienne Harding*.

these attempts at recovering St. Jerome's original text. The MSS. then existing may be conveniently divided into three classes—those from Italy, those from Spain, and those from Ireland. All these types of MSS. met at Tours where Alcuin worked. The product was the set of Bibles known as the “Alcuinian”; conspicuous among them is the famous *Cod. Vallicellanus*.¹ For Bibles Alcuin went to Northumbria where St. Benet Biscop and Abbot Ceolfrid had formed a famous *scriptorium* and had gathered such precious MSS. as *Cod. Amiatinus*, the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, and those of *Durham* and *Stonyhurst*.

iii. *The Vulgate in the Thirteenth Century.*—At the commencement of the thirteenth century the newly-founded University of Paris took one particular Alcuinian text of the Vulgate as the basis for lectures. Unfortunately this text had been vitiated in its passage through the hands of a multitude of copyists. However, the University authorities multiplied it, and its success seems to have been due in great measure to the chapter divisions drawn up either by Stephen Langton or the Dominican, Cardinal Hugo à Sancto Caro. Still the theologians using it knew its defects and corrected it as occasion arose. These “corrections” were at first placed in the margins, but as they grew in bulk they were gathered into separate books known as “Correctories.” No less than three hundred of these manuscript “Correctories” remain; the best known being the Correctory of the Sorbonne and that of Sens, or the “Paris Correctory.” This latter was not an attempt to recover the text of the Vulgate of St. Jerome, but rather to correct the existing Vulgate text by the Greek and Hebrew originals; thus, Hugo à Sancto Caro, who was mainly responsible for its production, says: “In many books, especially the historical, we do not use the translation of Jerome.”

The Dominican General Chapter of 1236 says: “All Bibles in the Order are to be corrected according to the Correctory of the [Dominican] Province of France”; in the Chapter of 1256 the Correctory of Sens was rejected as being an insufficient correction of the Bible of the University of Paris. There exist three autograph Correctories which belonged to the famous Dominican Convent of St. Jacques at

¹ *Bibl. Rerum Germanicarum*, tom. vi., *Monumenta Alcuiniana*, Berlin, 1873.

Paris ; they probably date from 1256. The principle here at work was a false one from the point of view of those who at all costs would preserve the translation of St. Jerome, and Roger Bacon condemns it unsparingly. After pointing out that “St. Jerome himself, though he knew the languages [Hebrew and Greek] thoroughly, yet, since churchmen deemed him a falsifier, did not dare always to translate according to the ‘Hebrew truth,’ sometimes even accommodating himself to other translators, and allowing many things to stand as they were, although he knew well how to improve them,” he continues: “What had been well translated is now corrupted simply because we do not know the languages, as is evident throughout the Bible and philosophy ; . . . the greater portion of the Vulgate text, that of Paris, is corrupt. . . . And this corruption is aggravated owing to the fact that everybody corrects as he pleases ; every lector among the Friars Minor does so ; so does every lector among the Friars Preachers ; so, too, among the Seculars. . . . The Friars Preachers especially have occupied themselves with this kind of correction. For the last twenty years and more they have had the presumption to make a ‘Correctory,’ and have published it ; yet now they have gone and published another which reprobates the former one ! Consequently they are now in a more embarrassing position than all the rest ; they do not know where they stand ! Truly their ‘correction’ is a worse ‘corruption,’ the destruction of the word of God ; it would be a far less evil to use an uncorrected copy of the Paris edition than to use the ‘Correctory’ of the Friars Preachers or of anybody else !”¹

The Franciscans proceeded on different lines, as appears in the *Correctorium Vaticanum* by a learned Franciscan scholar who was well versed in Greek and Latin and whose aim was to restore as far as possible the text of St. Jerome.²

It is clear from these various attempted revisions and corrections that the Vulgate text had by the time of the invention of printing got into an exceedingly bad state ; and when the printing-press came in the confusion grew greater still, though ultimately it was to prove a valuable means for securing a uniform text. During the first half-century after the invention of printing no less than one hundred and twenty-four editions of the Latin Bible were published—perhaps the very best refutation of the old calumny that the Church reprobated the publication of the Bible.

¹ *Opus Tertium*, xxv., ed. J. S. Brewer, 1859 ; cf. *Opus Minus*, pp. 330-331 ; cf. Martin, *La Vulgate Latine au treizième siècle, d'après R. Bacon*, Paris, 1888.

² See Denifle, *Die Bibel-Correctorien*, in *Archiv für Lit. Gesch. Friburg*, tom. iv. 188, pp. 263 ff., also R.B. 1895, p. 277 ; Scrivener-Miller, *Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, 1894, II. 70 : at Paris, “Bible in 4 vols., corrected throughout by the Dominicans under the auspices of Hugo de St. Caro, often called the Bible of Hugo de St. Caro.”

The most famous of these early editions was that known as the Mazarin Bible, in two volumes, printed by Gutenberg at Mentz; twenty-five copies still exist. The first Roman edition dates from 1471, and the first edition in 8vo. appeared from Froben's printing-press at Basle in 1491. How numerous were these early editions is evident from the fact that even now copies which date from 1484 to 1497 are not rare.

But the multiplication of copies brought into clearer light the existing discrepancies, and the first definite attempt at a revision appeared in the *Complutensian Polyglot* of 1514. About the same time Erasmus, in his edition of the Greek Testament, gave a Latin translation of his own with notes on the Vulgate translation.

In 1528 Robert Stephens, or Etienne, published an edition of the Vulgate New Testament for which he used three codices of the ninth century; in a later edition, 1538-1540, he used seventeen MSS., of which some are good; this edition is regarded as the foundation of the present Vulgate New Testament. Meanwhile a host of Catholic scholars, such as Cardinal Cajetan, Steuchius, and Santes Pagninus (1518-1529) were at work correcting the Vulgate New Testament by the Greek.

iv. **The Council of Trent and the Vulgate.**—The discovery of printing, the flooding of Europe with MSS. owing to the sack of Constantinople, these—as well as the general renaissance—had brought a multitude of abuses in their train, not the least of which was the incautious multiplication of Biblical texts together with rash and misguided criticism. The Fathers of Trent specially singled out four abuses regarding the Bible which called for immediate remedy. These were (a) the variety of texts in circulation; (b) the great corruption prevailing in the printed editions; (c) the application of perverse principles of interpretation; (d) the reckless propagation of the Bible. As a remedy for the first-named abuse they proposed that of *all the Latin* versions the Vulgate alone should be declared “authentic.” As a remedy for the second abuse, the corruption of the Vulgate text, they urged that an edition of the Vulgate—purified from the corruptions which had crept in in the course of centuries—should be brought out as speedily as possible.¹ The Tridentine Fathers had very vague ideas as to the labour which the production of such a revised edition

¹ Session of March 17, 1546.

would involve; they seem to have thought that it could be done during the sessions of the Council.

There were scholars, however, who, while fully alive to the difficulties of the task, were yet competent to deal with them. John Hentenius, a Dominican of Louvain, set to work at once, and in the course of one year produced the Louvain Bible in 1547; between 1573 and 1594 no less than nine editions of this Bible were produced. Hentenius used the best of Stephen's editions, and added readings from thirty other MSS. On his death, Luke of Bruges, a Franciscan, continued Hentenius' task, and added readings from sixty fresh MSS. The troubles of the times caused a suspension of the sittings of the Council, and a series of vexatious delays retarded the work of revision. Some of the revisers, too, preferred to go slowly; thus we find that between April 28 and December 7, 1569, during twenty-six sessions, the text of Genesis-Exodus alone was examined. But this slow procedure was an ultimate gain; men's minds were forming, and the huge mass of material was sifted by passing through the hands of successive members of various commissions; each commission profited by the labours of its predecessors. Writers who have not read the *Acta* of the Council, nor troubled to take into account the stormy period during which its sittings were held, make merry over the forty odd years which elapsed between the promulgation of the decree for the publication of an emended Vulgate and the actual appearance of the volume. But no scholar who has followed the slow and cautious progress of the *Oxford Vulgate* will sneer at the slow procedure of the Tridentine revisers; the *Oxford Vulgate* was commenced in 1877, and now (1926) the *Gospels*, *Acts*, *Romans* and *1 Corinthians* have alone been published!¹

(a) *The Sixtine Vulgate*.—At length, however, in 1568, Sixtus V. became supreme Pontiff, and at once pushed forward the work of revision. The commission he appointed set to work methodically.

In Rome itself they examined the famous *Codex* preserved in the library of St. Paul's "without the walls," also the *Cod. Ottoboniensis* and the *Cod. Vallicellanus* preserved at the Oratorian Church—the Chiesa Nuova. They also examined MSS. preserved in the monastery of Monte Cassino, and, above all, the famous *Cod. Amiatinus* now at Florence in the Laurentian Library. They also sent to Spain for collations of MSS.; amongst others, the *Codd. Toletanus* and *Legionensis* were thus examined. Thus the revisers were well acquainted with what are even now conceded to be the best MSS. of the Latin Bible. Lælius collated the various readings thus discovered; Agellius compared the difficult texts with the originals, Hebrew and Greek; and at the public sessions, over which Cardinal Carafa presided, the

¹ A compendious edition of the whole New Testament, *Novum Testamentum Latine*, ed. White; *Editio Minor*, Clarendon Press, appeared in 1911.

readings chosen after discussion were inserted in the margin of a copy of the Louvain Bible, which still exists and is known as the *Codex Carafa*. This work occupied the commissioners two years. The goal at which they aimed was the restoration of the Vulgate as it left St. Jerome's hands. They consulted the best codices as far as they knew them, and posterity, with all its research, has seen no reason to reverse their judgement as to which were the best codices, though of course nowadays we have far more material at our disposal than they had. When the witness of the MSS. disagreed, they had recourse to the versions and to the early Fathers; and when these two aids failed them, they went to the original texts, Hebrew or Greek, for the Old and New Testaments respectively. But in this last case recourse was had to the originals, not in order to correct the Vulgate but to avoid any ambiguity.

The Bible thus prepared differed in many instances from the Louvain Bible, not because, as is often supposed, the revisers, who had laid it down as a principle to compare St. Jerome's translation with the Hebrew, corrected this translation by the Hebrew, but because they attached immense importance to the witness of the *Cod. Gothicus* or *Legionensis*. We referred above to Lucinius, a Spaniard, who had sent copyists to Bethlehem to make copies of St. Jerome's works, and to whom St. Jerome says that he has provided his envoys with copies of all his translations of the Old Testament save the first eight books. Now the revisers under Carafa were convinced that in the *Cod. Legionensis* they had the nearest approach to these copies sent to Spain; hence, in endeavouring to arrive at the nearest approach to St. Jerome's Vulgate, they felt that the witness of this particular codex must have preponderating authority. This shows how tenaciously they adhered to the Tridentine Decree which demanded an accurate edition of the Vulgate, not a correction of it. Sixtus himself expresses this forcibly: "We wish to make it perfectly clear to everyone that our labours were in no sense directed towards the production of a new edition, but to printing the old Vulgate emended in accordance with the declaration of Trent, and thus, as far as possible, restored to the pristine purity with which it originally came from the hand and pen of its translator. . . . In passages, however, which do not seem sufficiently guaranteed by the testimony of MSS. or of the Fathers (*Doctorum*), we have felt it right to appeal to the Hebrew and Greek originals; yet even here this was not done with a view to correcting mistakes made by the Latin translator, but from the desire to substitute for words which sound ambiguous in Latin, and which could consequently be wrongly interpreted, something certain and unambiguous; this was also done with a view to replacing a text which was varied and inharmonious, owing to the conflicting testimony of MSS., by something uniform and harmonious, and at the same time derived from an examination of the original texts."¹

But when the revisers presented their completed work to Sixtus he declined to rank the *Cod. Gothicus* or *Legionensis* so

¹ Sixtus V., Constitution *Æternus ille*. Cf. Cornely, *Introd. Gen.*, p. 468.

highly as they had done ; hence, while he made a “*delectus*” of the proposed readings, he refused to accept them *en bloc*. Whether the Sixtine revisers were justified or not in the estimate they had formed of the value of *Legionensis* is a moot question ; certain it is that in inserting its readings into the margin of the Louvain Bible they changed the character of the latter very considerably. Sixtus, however, preferred to go by the consensus of the Latin Bibles rather than allow a preponderating authority to any one codex. Consequently the Sixtine Vulgate, finally published in 1590, did not really represent the views of the revisers so much as the personal predilections of the Pope. It is well to understand this, for much capital has been made by controversial writers out of the conflict between Sixtus and Bellarmine on the point. The Sixtine Vulgate was exceedingly well printed ; yet we often read accounts of the shocking way in which it was brought out, and are told that it was so full of misprints that the Pope had to paste over an immense number of places with bits of paper in order to hide the printers’ errors ! Nothing could be further from the truth. There are only forty misprints in the whole edition, and of these Sixtus detected thirty which he certainly did paste over in the way described ; but in the first edition of the Clementine Vulgate there were at least eighty misprints. The completed Bible was published with the famous Encyclical *Æternus Ille* prefixed to it ; in this Encyclical the Pope declared that the edition now published was not to be tampered with on any account : it is often asserted that Clement VIII., who published his revised edition in 1592, disregarded this Encyclical. Yet to every Catholic it should be perfectly plain that Sixtus only prohibited *unauthorized* persons from making changes in the edition he was publishing ; he could never have meant that no successor of his in the See of Peter was to make changes in the text.

Sixtus died in August, 1590. Urban VII. succeeded him, but died in the same year. Before the close of the year Gregory XIV. was elected, but unfortunately Cardinal Carafa, who had worked so strenuously for the revision, died almost at the same time. A new commission was immediately constituted ; it consisted of seven Cardinals, with the elder Cardinal Colonna at their head, together with

eleven consultors, of whom the principal were Cardinals Allen, Miranda (the Master of the Sacred Palace), Bellarmine, Agellius, Morinus and Rocca. They commenced their sittings in October, 1591, at Zagorola whither Cardinal Colonna took them in order to secure complete retirement.

No doubt Sixtus had given offence to the members of Carafa's commission by his disregard of their conclusions; no doubt, too, he had acted hurriedly in adopting certain changes; but we must not be too ready to condemn, as so many do, this great and learned Pontiff. The following brief account of the events which led to the publication of our present Clementine Vulgate will serve to bring into clearer light the real value of the Sixtine edition, and also to prove that Sixtus was not the hasty, ill-advised corrector he is generally represented as being.

A commission was formed, as we have seen, immediately after the death of Urban VII. Rumours were rife regarding the relations between Sixtus and Carafa's commission, and it was felt on all sides that they must be set at rest by the speedy publication of an emended edition of the Vulgate. Bellarmine, in his autobiography, writes as follows:

"In the year 1591, when Gregory XIV. was thinking over what should be done with regard to the Bible published by Sixtus V., in which there were very many unfortunate changes (*per multa perperam mutata*), there were not wanting serious-minded men who felt that the aforesaid Bibles ought to be publicly withdrawn. But I showed the Pope that it would be better not to prohibit them, but, to save the honour of Pope Sixtus, to publish them in corrected form. I pointed out to him that this could be managed if these unfortunate changes were corrected as soon as possible, and if the said Bibles were re-printed under Sixtus' name with a Preface saying that in Sixtus' first edition, owing to the haste with which it was produced, some errors, either of the printers or of others, had crept in."

Bellarmino then remarks that in giving this advice he had rendered Sixtus good for evil, since the latter had put a work of Bellarmine's on the Index! He then adds:

"This advice was accepted by the Pontiff, and he ordered the formation of a commission which should at once revise the Sixtine Bible, and make it conform to the ordinary Bible, especially to that of Louvain."

Two questions present themselves: What was wrong with the Sixtine Bibles?—what, in other words, were the

“permulta perperam mutata” of which Bellarmine speaks? And how, considering that Sixtus is said to have preferred the witness of the Louvain Bibles to the conclusions arrived at by Carafa’s commission, can Bellarmine say that the Sixtine Bible is now to be made to conform to these same Louvain Bibles?

Our present Clementine Bible was arrived at in three stages: first there came the Sixtine commission appointed to prepare a Vulgate text; their labours resulted in the production of the *Codex Carafa* or, as we have seen, the Louvain Bible furnished with marginal variants derived from an examination of other MSS. of the Vulgate and from a study of the original texts. The next stage was Sixtus’ examination of this codex and his acceptance or rejection of some of its conclusions, the result of his examination being the publication of the Sixtine Bible on principles which the members of the commission resented. What, then, in the minds of these commissioners, was wrong with the Sixtine Bible? Bellarmine says that there were in it “many unfortunate changes,” and in his Preface to the Clementine edition says that Sixtus himself noticed that there were many misprints, and consequently proposed to reprint the whole, but was prevented by death. In his declaration to Pope Gregory, given above, Bellarmine goes much further, and says that these errors were due to the printers *or others*, and it is hard not to see in the words “or others” an allusion to Sixtus himself.

If we now compare the Sixtine and the Clementine editions, we shall find that the latter differs from the former in no less than 2,134 places. But among these only forty rank as misprints, and of these latter Sixtus himself corrected thirty. It is evident, then, that the remaining ten cannot justify Bellarmine’s assertion that there were “many unfortunate changes.” When we turn to the rules laid down for the commission formed by Gregory XIV., we find that the first ran *ut ablata restituantur*, or that words or passages found in the ordinary and Louvain Bibles but omitted in the Sixtine, should be restored to it; the second rule was *ut adjecta removeantur*; the third, *ut immutata considerentur*; the fourth, *ut punctationes perpendantur*; the fifth declares that no change is to be made without necessity, and that when doubts occur about any particular reading, recourse is to be had to the oldest MSS. and then to the Hebrew and Greek originals, and to the Fathers and Doctors of the Church. In the MS. notes of Angelo Rocca, the secretary of the commission, we find the mode of procedure stated as follows: There were to be three meetings a week, the text was to be read aloud to the members of the commission; when readings differ, “recourse is to be had to the Louvain Bibles and to the Hebrew and Greek, and to the notes from MSS. collected into one volume and now in the palace of Cardinal Carafa, of happy memory”; if a decision cannot be arrived at the case is to be brought before a general meeting of the commission. And in case a decision cannot then be arrived at, recourse is to be had to the Supreme Pontiff.

What, then, were the *ablata*, *adjecta*, and *immutata* which called

for correction in the Sixtine edition? As far as can be discovered, the only omissions which Sixtus thought fit to make were justified by the witness of the Louvain Bibles which he followed. Thus he omitted the notes inserted by St. Jerome in *Esther* and *Daniel* to indicate that certain passages did not exist in the Hebrew text; these were re-inserted by the Gregorian revisers. Many other passages were also omitted by him though occurring in the ordinary¹ and Louvain Bibles, but the Gregorian revisers did not find it necessary to reinsert them. Again, no one has ever succeeded in showing that Sixtus made un-critical changes, though it is possible that at times he relied too exclusively on the application of critical principles as opposed to MSS. evidence.² Nor should it be thought that because he did not give in his adherence to the *Codex Carafa* to the same extent as its framers had done, Sixtus was therefore opposed to it; he used it largely and in many cases adopted its readings. But perhaps the most striking proof of the real value of the Sixtine edition lies in the fact that when it was felt that the Gregorian commission was not proceeding as fast as could be wished, and a new commission was formed for the purpose of bringing their work to a close, the whole Bible was revised in the incredibly short space of nineteen days! This could not have been done had Sixtus' edition needed so much emendation as is commonly supposed.³ The story of this final revision is of interest. A MS., probably due to Rocca, informs us that for this special commission were chosen Cardinal Mark Antony Colonna and Cardinal Allen; to assist them the most learned members of the commission already existing were singled out, namely Bartholomew Miranda (the Master of the Sacred Palace), Andreas Salvener, Antony Agellius, Robert Bellarmine (not yet Cardinal), Valverde, Lælius, Morinus and Rocca. These Cardinal Colonna took out to his seat at Zagorola; there they lived at his expense and completed the work of revision in nineteen days. This wonderful performance is commemorated by an inscription still existing at Zagorola. We give it in full, as it is too little known:

GREGORIUS. XIV. P.M.

De. Incorrūpta. Sacrorum. Bibliorum. Puritate. Sollicitus.
Textum. Vulgatæ. Editionis. Sedente. Prædecessore. Suo. Sixto. V.
Typis. Vaticanis. Indiligenter. Excusum.
A. Pluribus. Quæ. Irrepserant. Mendis. Expurgari.
Pristinoque. Nitōri. Restitui. Curavit.
Delectis. In. Hunc. Scopum.
Atque. Zagorolum. Missis. Clarissimis. Viris.

¹ By the term "ordinary Bibles" was meant the edition of the Vulgate with the ordinary or common gloss, a species of running commentary drawn from the writing of the Fathers.

² See Bonaccorsi, *La Volgata al Concilio di Trento*, Bologna, 1904, in *Questioni Bibliche*.

³ See Le Bachelet, S.J., *Bellarmino et la Bible Sixto-Clémentine*, Paris, 1912; also Amann, *Die Vulgata Sixtina von 1590*, Herder, 1912; *J.T.S.*, April, 1913, January, 1914; *R.B.*, January, 1914.

Bartolomæo. Miranda. Andrea. Salvener.
 Antonio. Agellio. Roberto. Bellarmino. Joanne. De. Valverde.
 Lelio. Lando. Petro. Morino. Et. Angelo. Rocca.
 Additis. Etiam. Doctrina. Non. Minus. Quam. Dignitate.
 Eminentissimis. Cardinalibus.
 Marco. Antonio. Columna. Et. Gulielmo. Alano.
 Qui. Pontificiæ. Obsequentes. Voluntati.
 Anno. MDLXXXI.
 Communibus. Collatis. Animadversionibus. Et. Notis.
 Opus. Insigne.
 Et. Catholicæ. Religionis. Maxime. Salutare.
 Assiduo. Seduloque. XIX. Dierum. Labore.
 His. Ipsi. In. Ædibus. Perfecerunt.
 Ne. Tantæ. Rei. Notitia. Aliquando. Periret.
 Clemens. Dominicus. Rospigliosus.
 Clemens. IX. P.O.M.
 Ex. Fratre. Pronepos. Zagorolensium. Dux.
 Monumentum. Posuit.
 Anno. Salutis. MDCCXXIII.

(b) *The Clementine Vulgate*.—But the troubles of the revisers were not yet over. Hardly had they completed their task than Gregory XIV. died, October 15, 1591. Innocent IX. was elected a fortnight later but died before the end of the year. Little more than a month later, however, Clement VIII. was elected. He determined to bring the labours of the successive commissions to an end, and for this purpose he entrusted the task of final revision to Cardinals Valerius of Verona and Frederick Borromeo, also to Francis Toletus, S.J., afterwards Cardinal. The work of revision fell almost wholly on the shoulders of the latter. There exists in the Vatican library a copy of the Sixtine Vulgate, in the margin of which Toletus has marked all the corrections which he felt to be necessary. His references are to the Hebrew originals, to the Septuagint, to the Complutensian Vulgate, to the “Biblia Regia,” to the Louvain Bibles, and to the ordinary Bibles. He makes special mention of the *Codex of St. Paul’s “without the walls”* and *Codex Amiatinus*, and he refers constantly to the decisions arrived at by the Sixtine and Gregorian commissions. On the last page of this Sixtine Bible is written in Toletus’ hand: “August 28, 1592, the feast of St. Augustine, the first year of Clement VII. [*sic* !] I completed these annotations.” Thus within seven months from the time of the accession of Clement VIII. to the Pontifical

throne Toletus completed the revision of the whole Bible. He could not have done this but for the labours of his predecessors, the members of the preceding commissions. And here we may repeat what we insisted on above, namely that the repeated revisions which the changes detailed above have indicated ensured the thoroughness of the work. The Clementine Vulgate as we now have it was not the work of any one man nor of any one age. It was not produced by any one school of exegetes who might have prepossessions of their own ; it was the work of a whole series of successive revisers, each of whom profited by the work of their predecessors. This fact should not be lost sight of in estimating the value of our present Vulgate text.

Toletus' completed work was submitted to the two above-mentioned Cardinals, and then entrusted to the printer, Aldus of Venice. But it is clear that Toletus' corrections were not accepted *en bloc*, for many of them are not to be found in the Clementine edition of 1592. There exists, however, in the Bibliotheca Angelica at Rome another copy of the Sixtine Vulgate, in which the margin has preserved readings, titles of books, and verse divisions, which now stand in the Clementine Vulgate but which are not to be found in the copy of the Sixtine Bible referred to above. These MS. notes appear to have been compiled partly by Angelo Rocca, partly by Toletus himself, and from this copy the first edition of the Clementine Vulgate was printed in 1592. Before, however, it was finally entrusted to the printers, a difficulty was raised which, but for the prompt action of the Pope, might have caused endless delay : Valverde, himself one of the Sixtine consulters, presented to the Pope a list of at least two hundred places in which the proposed Vulgate text differed from the Hebrew or Greek originals. He appears to have obstinately insisted that these should be corrected, but Clement, after taking advice on the matter, imposed perpetual silence upon him ! This instance is instructive as showing how men who were themselves members of the commissions failed at times to grasp the real purport of the Tridentine Decree, which aimed not at a correction of St. Jerome's work, but at a restoration of the Latin text of the current Bibles to the state in which they left St. Jerome's hands.

Unfortunately the printer, Aldus, in spite of his deservedly great reputation, failed on this occasion to do himself justice, for the first edition was disfigured by a number of more or less serious misprints, one of which was never corrected in any of the three subsequent editions: in Gen. xxxv. 8, Deborah, Rebecca's nurse, was said to have been buried “on top of” the oak instead of “under” it, “super” being printed for “subter”! The next year, 1593, saw a new edition, this time in quarto; this also had its own misprints, and was replaced in 1598 by an edition in small quarto, which was provided with a triple list of typographical errors for the three editions respectively. These lists were drawn up by Rocca and Toletus. No official Roman edition of the Vulgate has been published since 1598, though other editions have been brought out with official sanction. Most of the misprints occurring in the three official editions have been corrected, but even now new ones are occasionally to be found.

The three editions published during Clement's lifetime all bore on their frontispiece the title *Biblia Sacra Vulgatæ Editionis Sixti V. Pont. Max. jussu recognita atque edita. Romæ ex typographia Vaticana*. It was not until 1675 that a Bible appeared with the name of Clement on the title-page: *Biblia Sacra Vulgatæ Editionis Sixti V. P.M. jussu recognita et Clementis VIII. auctoritate edita*. To the edition of 1592, Sixtus' famous Constitution *Æternus Ille* was appended, but in the edition of 1593 it was replaced by Bellarmine's Preface. Sixtus' Constitution was thus suppressed; hence it is not to be found in the *Bullarium Magnum*.

(c) *The Authenticity of the Vulgate*.—The Council of Trent declared the Vulgate “authentic”; to grasp the true significance of this declaration we must note the steps which led to this pronouncement.

In the session held on March 17, 1546, four principal abuses regarding the Holy Scriptures were pointed out. The third and fourth referred to the wild interpretations then in vogue, and to the reckless dissemination of the Scriptures, two natural results of the invention of printing. The first and second abuses were that all manner of Latin texts were in use, and that they were many of them exceedingly corrupt. In view of these two latter abuses, the Fathers proposed as a remedy—

“To have only one edition, namely the old Vulgate, which all are to use as authentic in public lectures, expositions, and preaching ; and no one must be allowed to reject or contradict this [authentic text] ; but this is not meant to detract from the authority due to the pure and true translation of the Seventy, which the Apostles sometimes used, nor is it meant as a repudiation of the other versions in so far as they further the understanding of the authentic Vulgate.”

With regard to the corrupt state of the Vulgate text, the remedy proposed was that, by correcting the MSS., the pure and genuine Vulgate edition, freed from errors which have crept in, be restored to the Christian world. The Holy Father was, therefore, begged to see to this, and also to see that a correct Greek and Hebrew text be provided.

This proposal was carefully considered in three successive sessions, with the result that the following decree was published :

“The Holy Synod, feeling that it would be no small gain to the Church of God if it were clearly stated which, of all the Latin editions of the Scriptures which are in circulation, is to be held as authentic, hereby declares and enacts that the well-known (*hæc ipsa*) old Vulgate edition, which has been proved by its long-continued use throughout so many centuries in the Church, is, in public conferences, disputations, preachings, and expositions, to be held as authentic, and that no one is, upon any pretext, to dare or presume to repudiate it.”

Attached to this decree was the order to printers to see that henceforth the sacred Scriptures, particularly the old Vulgate edition, be most carefully printed.

Now an “authentic” document is defined as one which stands of itself ; it needs no confirmation from without. Further, it is apparent that there is a distinction between the “authenticity” of an *original* document, for example the original of one of St. Paul’s Epistles, the “authenticity” of a *copy* of the same, and finally the “authenticity” of a *translation* of the same. The Vulgate clearly can only claim the last-named species of authenticity. Again, an authentic translation of a will, for example, demands that it faithfully represents what was in the original ; it must not mislead in essentials ; it need not, indeed, render word for word, and accidentals may be differently presented, but the substance must be the same with that given in the original. This is absolutely all that is claimed for the Vulgate. The original inspired documents were a genuine source of knowledge of

revelation, so also is the Vulgate; no false doctrine could be legitimately deduced from the original, so neither from the Vulgate; further, it faithfully expresses whatever belongs to the substance of the originally written word. It should be noted, too, that the Vulgate is declared “authentic” because proved by long usage in the Church. If, then, any passage now standing in the Vulgate can be shown not to have been thus “in long usage in the Church,” it will cease to fall under this decree; this is important, for if it should ever be held as proved that 1 John v. 7, for instance, was not so read in the Church throughout a long course of centuries, it would cease to form an authentic part of the Vulgate.

In order to avoid misunderstandings, the following points should be noted: (a) The Vulgate is declared to be the only authentic *Latin* copy. (b) The originals are not mentioned in the decree, though the Septuagint is praised in the proposition submitted to the council. (c) In the course of the discussions Cardinal Pole wished to have not only an authentic copy of the Vulgate, but also of the Hebrew and Greek, and even of every vernacular Bible. (d) Salmeron, one of the theologians of the council, maintained that the decree was in no sense meant to deprive us of the right to defend the Church’s teachings from the Hebrew or Septuagint. (e) The Fathers of Trent were perfectly well aware that there were errors in the Vulgate translation, and insisted on the necessity of correcting them either by recourse to the originals or, failing these, to tradition. (f) The decree was not prospective, that is to say, it did not refer to the Vulgate which was to be brought out, but to the Vulgate itself as it left the hands of St. Jerome. In the edition contemplated by the council it was hoped to be able to restore this original text of St. Jerome as completely as possible.

The following words of Cardinal Bellarmine himself sum up the whole question:

“The main problem is: What did the Synod of Trent mean when in the fourth session it decreed that the Latin Vulgate edition was to be regarded as authentic? I notice that men of high standing hold very different views on this point. For some stoutly maintain that the Latin Vulgate edition received such approbation from the council that no one can now lawfully assert that in the said edition there exists a

single clause which is false or which does not express the mind of the original translator. Such men would prefer to repudiate the authority of the Hebrew and Greek originals rather than admit any mistake on the part of the old translator ; they would go so far as to hold that the true and genuine meaning of Scripture can be discovered from this edition no less clearly than if we had the actual autographs of the original writers. On the other hand others maintain that nothing of the sort was ever laid down by the council, but simply that this old Vulgate edition, the best of all, was to be retained, and that no one could use any other in seminaries (*gymnasiis*) or in preaching, nor introduce any other to be read or sung in the public services of the Church ; further, that in this edition nothing whatever was to be found opposed to the purity of the faith or sound moral teaching ; finally, that it was impossible to deny that the Latin translator who published this edition did sometimes ‘nod’ like the rest of men, and did not always really give the true meaning of Scripture.”¹

IV. Revision of the Vulgate.

It would be absurd to suppose that the Clementine Vulgate was a precise reproduction of St. Jerome’s original text. To recover that text would mean incredible labour, since we should have to discover all the accretions which in the course of time have slipped into various MSS. from reminiscences of the Old-Latin versions ; and even then we should hardly be able to decide whether some of these had not been deliberately retained by St. Jerome himself—unless MSS. evidence was compelling. Needless to say that the Tridentine Fathers had no such aim. They wanted to secure as reliable a text of the old Latin Vulgate as possible. The three words, *old*, *Latin*, and *Vulgate*, enshrine three principles. It was the old, traditional, text that was wanted ; it was that text in Latin ; and it was the vulgate or “vulgar” or commonly used text. Now this traditionally came from St. Jerome, yet with certain clear limitations. He only translated the Old Testament, and not even the whole of that, for with the exception of *Tobias* and *Judith* he did not touch the Deuterocanonical books ; the New Testament he simply corrected, and it is at least questionable whether his correction extended beyond the Gospels.² The same

¹ Bellarmine to Sirletus, April 1, 1575, published by Batiffol in *La Vaticane*, p. 32 ; cf. *R.B.*, January, 1908, p. 103. For the history of the Tridentine Vulgate see Ungarelli, *Prælectiones de Novo Testamento et historia Vulgatæ Bibliorum editione a Concilio Tridentino*.

² Critics are divided on the question whether our present Vulgate New Testament represents St. Jerome’s correction of anything more

applies to the Psalter; the Church has never made official use of Jerome's translation from the Hebrew. The consequence is that, in seeking to reproduce the Vulgate, we are not simply seeking to reproduce St. Jerome's work, but the Church's work. Now the part played by the Greek versions—through the medium of the Old-Latin versions—in forming the Latin Bible is immense, and certain things have become traditional; thus, while belonging to the "Old-Latin" version, they do not necessarily belong to the Vulgate as it left St. Jerome's hands, still less to the Hebrew Scriptures as the Hebrew copyists left them to us. Supposing, for example, that we succeeded in purging the Vulgate text of all accretions due to reminiscences of the Old-Latin or the Septuagint, could it be said that we now had the "old" "Latin" version? If, on the other hand, we eliminated all the mistakes made by St. Jerome, whether amplifications, or omissions, or scraps of Rabbinical exegesis, could it be said that we had now St. Jerome's Vulgate? A few concrete examples will make this clearer:

(a) In 2 Sam. i. 18 the Clementine Vulgate has: "Et ait: Considera Israel, pro his qui mortui sunt super excelsa tua vulnerati, Inclyti, Israel, super montes tuos interfecti sunt." Now St. Jerome's text runs: "Inclyti, Israel, super montes tuos interfecti sunt."¹ The addition in the Clementine is not in the Hebrew, though it occurs in some MSS. of the Septuagint. If we omit it on the ground that it is not St. Jerome's, have we got the "old Latin" version?

(b) 2 Sam. i. 26: The Clementine has: "Sicut mater unicum amat filium suum, ita te diligebam," which is not to be found in any MS. of St. Jerome, nor in the Hebrew, nor in any known Greek version.² Are we to omit it?

(c) 2 Sam. vi. 6: The Clementine reads: "Et declinaverunt eam." This is not in St. Jerome nor in the Hebrew, but it is in the Septuagint. See, too, verse 12, where the Clementine adds, "et erant cum David septem chori et victima vituli" against Jerome, the Hebrew, and the

than the Gospels—whether, in fact, he ever did revise the rest. For the negative view see Lagrange in *R.B.*, 1917, pp. 424-450; 1918, p. 319; January, 1919, p. 283; April, 1921, p. 292; a review of Cavallera, *Saint Jérôme et la Vulgate des Actes, des Épîtres et de l'Apocalypse* in the *Bulletin de Littérature ecclésiastique, de Toulouse*, July-October, 1920. Cavallera and Lagrange are in agreement, but Dom John Chapman holds emphatically that St. Jerome did revise the entire New Testament; to prove, however, that that revision finds a place in our present Vulgate New Testament is a different matter (*J.T.S.*, October, 1922, January and April, 1923).

¹ See *P.L.* XXVIII. 618.

² See Swete's edition.

Septuagint. The same feature reappears in 1 Sam. xiv. 22, where the Clementine has: "Et erant cum Saul quasi decem millia virorum."

(d) 1 Sam. xiv. 41: The Clementine adds after "da indicium": "Quid est quod non responderis servo tuo hodie? Si in me, aut in Jonatha filio meo, est iniquitas hæc, da ostensionem; aut si hæc iniquitas est in populo tuo, da sanctitatem," of which addition there are but reminiscences in the Septuagint. See also xv. 32, 3 Kings xvi. 7, Ezech. xxxii. 8, Job i. 22.

(c) A more startling instance occurs in Ps. xiii., where three whole verses—"sepulchrum patens . . . ante oculos eorum"—are inserted from Rom. iii. 13-18, itself a cento from various passages of Scripture. Yet they appear in the Gallican and Roman Psalters, and St. Jerome himself says: "It is not so much the Apostle who took what is not in the Hebrew from Ps. xiii., as that men ignorant of the way in which the Apostle weaves together passages from Scripture looked about for a fitting place in which to insert the testimony Paul had made use of; they felt it could not be placed in Scripture without authority. As a matter of fact, all the Greek commentators who have left us learned treatises on the Psalms mark these verses with an asterisk and omit them, plainly stating that they are not in the Hebrew nor in the Septuagint, but in the Vulgate edition, in Greek termed the *Κοινή*, and which is spread over the whole world."¹

Ought a revision of the Vulgate to eliminate these words from Ps. xiii.? They are not there on the authority of St. Jerome, nor of the Hebrew or Septuagint; but they certainly form part of the old Latin version, which is *Vulgata*.

The Holy See has now taken steps to secure an adequate revision of the Vulgate. In May, 1907, Pope Pius X. announced his determination to have this revision made, and almost immediately afterwards it was officially declared that the work was to be entrusted to the Benedictine Order, which, owing to its long centuries of work on the text, was eminently fitted to carry out the task. Abbot Gasquet, Abbot-President of the English Benedictines, now Cardinal, was nominated President of the Commission appointed for the revision. It is to be hoped that before many years have elapsed we shall have an edition of the Vulgate worthy not only of the Benedictine Order, but also of the great part which the Latin Bible has played in the history of the Church. How vast the labour which this work of revision will call for will be clear even from the foregoing brief sketch.²

¹ *Pref. in lib. xvi., Commen. in Isaïam, P.L. XXIV. 547-548.*

² See Gasquet, *D.R.*, October, 1908; Lagrange, *R.R.*, January, 1908; Jacquier, *Le Nouveau Testament dans l'Église Chrétienne*, II., Paris, 1913; Dom H. Quentin, *Mémoire sur l'Etablissement du Texte de la*

V. Manuscripts of the Vulgate.

Vulgate MSS.—The most important of those which contain the Old Testament are:

Codex Cavensis, so called from the Benedictine monastery of Corpo di Cava, near Salerno.¹ It was written in Spain, probably in the sixth century, in Visigothic characters; it is very similar in character to—

Codex Toletanus, now in the National Library, Madrid. It probably belongs to the tenth century, though some would refer it to the eighth. It is written in Visigothic characters, and was collated for the Sixtine revision by Palomares, but the collation arrived too late. It will prove of use, however, to the present Benedictine revisers.

Codex Amiatinus, now in the Laurentian Library at Florence; seventh or eighth century. It was written either at Wearmouth or Jarrow by order of Abbot Ceolfrid, and sent by him to the Pope in A.D. 715. It derives its name from the monastery of Monte Amiata where it was long kept. It was used by the Sixtine revisers, and of all the MSS. accessible to us at present² is probably the nearest approach to the Vulgate as it left St. Jerome's hands.

Codex Vallicellanus, in the Oratorian Library attached to the Chiesa Nuova or S. Maria in Vallicella, Rome; probably the best specimen of Alcuin's revision extant. Ninth century.

Codex Sti. Pauli extra muros. This is in the Church of S. Paolo fuori le mura, Rome. It was once the property of Charles the Bald, and has an Alcuinian text; it was used by the Tridentine revisers. Ninth century.

Codex Gothicus Legionensis is preserved at Leon in Spain; it is a folio of the tenth century. Cardinal Carafa had it collated for the Sixtine revision; the Cardinal gave it the title of “Gothicus” owing to the Visigothic character of the script.

Codex Hubertianus is a Theodulfian Bible of the ninth century, now in the British Museum.

In the *Novum Testamentum Latine, editio Minor*, published by H. J. White, Clarendon Press, 1911, the variant readings of *Amiatinus*, *Cavensis*, *Hubertianus*, *Vallicellanus* are given, as well as the variants presented by the Sixtine and Clementine editions; also the readings of the *Book of Armagh*, *Codex Fuldensis*, and *Codex Sangermanensis* for the New Testament only. This is a most useful volume for a student.

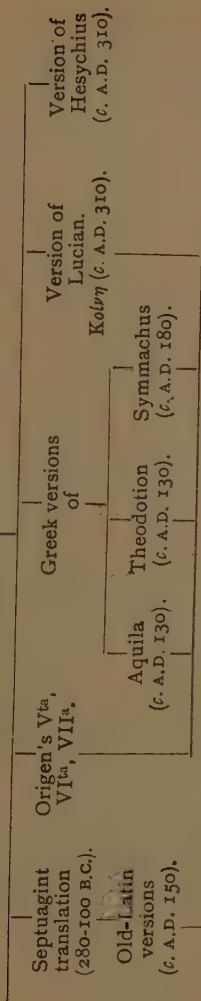
Vulgate, I. Partie, Octateuque, Rome, 1922. Dom Quentin seems inclined to go simply by the majority of MSS. in favour of a particular reading—a principle which seems hardly sound. See Lagrange in *R.B.*, January, 1924; Burkitt in *J.T.S.*, July, 1923.

¹ See Cardinal Wiseman, *Two Essays on 1 John v. 7*, for an account of this codex.

² *Amiatinus* was published separately by Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum ex Codice Amiatino*, Leipsic, 1850 and 1854; its readings for the New Testament are given in White, *Novum Testamentum Latine, editio Minor*, 1911. See H. J. White, *Codex Amiatinus and its Birthplace* in *Studia Biblica*, II., pp. 273-308, with an *Appendix* by Sanday on its Italian origin.

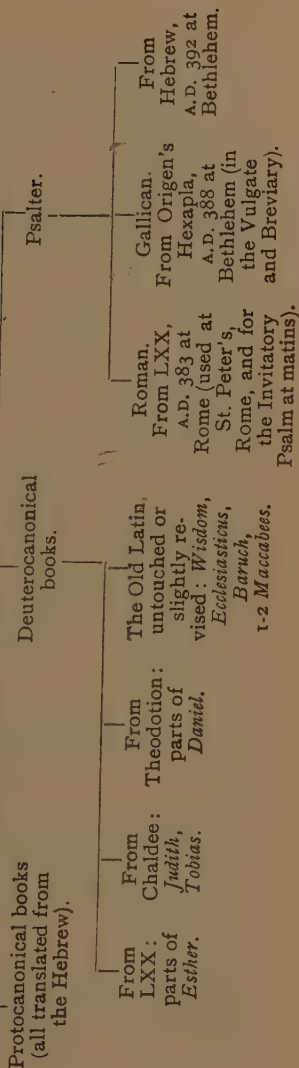
VI. Genealogy of the Vulgate Old Testament.

HEBREW TEXT.



Old-Latin MSS. in time of SS. Jerome and Augustine.

Vulgate (A.D. 392-404), composed as follows:



VII. The Latinity of the Latin Bible.

St. Augustine's distaste for Scripture because of the barbarous language employed is well known.¹ But Augustine was not the only one among the early Fathers to feel this. Thus Origen begs students of the Bible “not to listen with fatigue and boredom simply because the narrative is not too pleasing to the senses”;² Lactantius says: “The main reason why Holy Scripture is not believed by the wise and learned, the ‘princes of this world,’ is that the prophets spoke to the populace, and in simple, unadorned speech.”³ Arnobius quotes a pagan as saying: “Your literature is steeped in barbarisms and solecisms; it is spoilt by every kind of deformity.”⁴ St. Jerome himself acknowledges this: “Do not be fastidious about the simple and homely speech of Holy Scripture; sometimes this may be due to copyists, but it is also done deliberately, so as to provide ready instruction for rustic assemblies, also that learned and unlearned alike may gather different fruit from one and the same passage.”⁵

Now there is no denying that the Latinity of the Vulgate is of a very different character from that to which we are accustomed in the classical authors. But for this there are many reasons. In the first place, it is a translation, and is meant to please as being as faithful a rendering as possible of the original. Then in various places the original is obscure, notably in some of the Psalms and in the prophets, hence the translation must, if faithful, be no less obscure—unless it is to be misleading. Further still, copyists made mistakes, and sometimes bad ones. Once more, Scripture deals with things not of this world, which consequently cannot readily be expressed in terms of this world; new words and expressions have to be coined to meet emergencies.⁶ Hence we should naturally expect to find that the Latin Bible has a vocabulary of its own.

¹ *Confess.* III. v. 9.

² *Hom.* viii. 1 on *Josue*, Delarue, ii. 415.

³ *Hist.* V. 1, *P.L.* VI. 500.

⁴ *Adv. Nationes*, I. 59.

⁵ *Ep.* xxii. 30, *P.L.* XXII.

⁶ E.g. such terms as *œdificatio*, *tentatio*, *prædicatio*, *transgressio*, *remissio*, *vocatio*, etc., with their ecclesiastical connotations.

The term "classical" is ambiguous, but the term "Ciceronian" labours under the same difficulty, for, as St. Jerome remarks, Cicero himself coined words as occasion arose.¹ Still, if we take Cicero as a standard, it is surprising how many of the words in the Vulgate which at first sight we should condemn as barbarous are really accepted by Cicero. Thus, *basilica*, *oppilare*, *primores*, *determinans*, *palantes*, *incredibilis*, *incursio*, *incutio*, *impotens*, *improvisus*, *impune*, *inchoo*, *impugno*, *incursus*, *ignoratio*, *malevolus*, *marinus*, *mediocris*, *memorabilis*, *meritum*, *militaris*, *paulo*, *perseverantia*, *perennis*, *perfringo*, *perfungor*, *perjurium*, *permistus*, *permutatio*, *pervulgatus*, *perperam*, *manubrium*, *permissus*, *pedalis*, *pedica*, *pensatio*, *perendie*, *pergrandis*, *perantiquus*, *perstringo*, *obductio*, *antelucanus*, *armilla*, *gloriatio*, are examples of words which occur comparatively rarely in the Vulgate, yet are used by Cicero.

On the other hand, *animositas*, *defunctio*, *religiositas*, *inhonoratio*, *albugo*, *plagor*, *plastes*, *plumesco*, *mansiuncula*, *persenilis*, *manicabat*, *permundus*, *meridialis*, *permodicus*, *pereffluo*, *perdurare*, *perurgeo*, *pessimo*, *placor*, *supervacuus*, *supervacuitas*, *supervaleo*, *peroro*, *peremptor*, *perliniens*, *ignorantes*, *maligne*, *mansuetor*, *marcidus*, *improperium*, *incantans*, *impluo*, *improbis*, *inalto*, *inargentatus*, *incentor*, *incommunicabilis*, *inconsummatus*, *inconsummatio*, *inconveniens*, *incorruptio*, *indeficiens*, *indisciplinatus*, *indulcor*, *ineffugibilis*, *implano*, *immemoratio*, *illamentatus*, *illæsus*, *fruteta*, *dextraliolum*, *ascopera*, *palathæ*, *conopceum*, *pastophora*,² *sublimare*, *odibilis*, *sartago*, are all late Latin, and in many cases confined to the Latin Bible and ecclesiastical writers subsequently.

We remarked above that St. Jerome left untouched *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and *Baruch*, and a cursory examination of the vocabulary of these books is sufficient to confirm this, for their vocabulary is peculiar.

Thus, such forms as *impluo*, *impotens*, *improbis*, *improvisus*, *impune*, *inalto*, *inargentatus*, *incentor*, *inchoo*, *incommunicabilis*, *inconsummatus*, *inconsummatio*, *inconveniens*, *incorruptio*, *incredibilis*, *incursio*, *incutio*, *indeficiens*, *indisciplinatus*, *indulco*, *ineffugibilis*, *implano*, *immunitas*, *immemoratio*, *illamentatus*, *illæsus*, *ignoranter*, *ignoratio*, *malevolus*, *maligne*, *malo*, *mansuetor*, *marcidus*, *marinus*, *mediocris*, *memorabilis*, *meritum*, *militaris*, *paulo*, *perseverantia*, *perennis*, *peroro*, *perfringo*, *perfungor*, *peremptor*, *perjurium*, *perliniens*, *permistus*, *permutatio*, *perurgeo*, *pervulgatus*, *pessimo*, *placor*, *supervacuus*, *supervacuitas*, *supervaleo*, etc., only occur in these books, though some of them are quite classical. The number of words compounded with the prepositions "in" and "super" is remarkable. Wiseman classified them as "Africanisms."

In the rest of the Vulgate we are faced with a number of words which are exceedingly rare, e.g. *mansiuncula*, *persenilis*, *manicabat*,³

¹ On Gal. I.

² On Isa. xxii. 15.

³ Thought to be a mistake for *mane ibat*, Luke xxi. 38.

manubrium, *pedalis*, *permodicus*, *pedica*, *permagnificum*, *pereffluo*,¹ *perendie*, *pergrandis*, *perantiqua*, *plagor*, *plastes*, *plumesco*,² etc., though neither are these universally late words.

The extent to which Latin forms only occurring in the books unrevised by St. Jerome have passed over into the Latin New Testament is rather remarkable, e.g. *inenarrabilis*, *incredibilis*, *incorruptus*, *incorruptio*, *incontaminatus*, *inconstantia*, *inambulo*, *importune*, *importunus*, *impertio*, *immortalis*, *immitis*, *maledicus*, *superduco*, *gloriatio*, *animositas*, etc.

One source of difficulty in reading the Vulgate lies in the lack of prepositions in Hebrew compared with Latin, and still more with Greek. St. Jerome must have exercised remarkable self-restraint when he forced himself to render the Hebrew prepositions so literally as he does.

Thus, the Hebrew preposition *על* means “upon,” but with many shades of meaning; yet St. Jerome nearly always renders it by “super,” e.g. “super temeritate,”³ instead of “pro”; “super aquas refectionis educavit me” is a translation he adheres to in his rendering of Ps. xxiii., though he changes the following “super semitas justitiæ” to “per semitas,” where the Hebrew preposition is different; so, too, when the Gallican Psalter has “in salicibus,”⁴ he correctly renders “super salices”; curiously enough, he gives “ludebant in lignis,” of the instruments of psaltery, instead of the more correct “super”;⁵ the awkward “ad meipsum” of Ps. xlii. 7 he changes to “in me ipso”; a remarkable instance of his literalness occurs in “solem in potestatem diei,” “the sun to rule over the day,”⁶ but St. Jerome so renders it even in his translation of the Hebrew Psalter, whereas the impossible “sub lingua mea exaltavi”—the exact rendering of the Hebrew *תַּחַת*—he changes into “in lingua mea.”⁷

Conjunctions, too, are often disconcerting in the Vulgate, and for the same reason. Thus, *וְ* means “quia,” but it cannot always be translated thus; sometimes “quoniam” is substituted, but even that is unsatisfactory, and “propter quod,” “eo quod,” “quapropter” would better express the meaning. A notable instance occurs in the case of the Hebrew *וְעַתָּה*; it is rendered by “quam,” “quoniam,” “nam,” “ergo,” “nonne,” “quia,” “verumtamen,” and St. Jerome himself prefers “attamen,” though even in Ps. lxii. he is not consistent.

Many purely Hebraic expressions have been taken over by the Vulgate where we should have expected a paraphrase, e.g. “expectans expectavi,” “benedicens benedicam,” etc.; but where these appear in the Old-Latin Psalms St. Jerome adheres to them in his translation of the Psalter. Moreover, Hebrew lacks adjectives, and the adjectival

¹ Heb. ii. 1, a perfect rendering of the Greek *παραβνῶμεν*.

² St. Jerome himself uses the word, on Matt. xxiv. 28.

³ 2 Sam. vi. 7.

⁴ Ps. cxxxvii. 1.

⁵ 2 Sam. vi. 5.

⁶ Ps. cxxxvi. 8.

⁷ Ps. lxvi. (H.) 16.

relation is expressed by a following genitive which is preserved in the Latin, e.g. "filli fortitudinis," "die malorum," "ira furoris," etc. Another Hebraic formula which proves a stumbling-block is the use of what to our ears are redundant pronouns, e.g. "beatus vir cujus spes ejus," "cujus Deus adjutor ejus," etc. A striking instance of this occurs in "arcam Dei super quam invocatum est nomen Domini exercituum sedentis in Cherubim super eam,"¹ which is a literal translation of the Hebrew. So far is this literal exactness carried that Hebrew words which are generally used in the plural or in the feminine preserve their gender or number in Latin, hence the baffling "unam petii a Domino"² and "melior est super vitas."³ The Hebrew שׂוּפָה stands for "person" as well as "soul"; also for "desire," "passion," etc. But St. Jerome rigidly renders it "soul," sometimes with resulting confusion for our ears; thus, "non tradat eum in animam inimicorum ejus"⁴ is rightly translated by the Septuagint *ἐς χεῖρας*, yet in his own translation St. Jerome keeps to "animam."

Conversely, Latin is rich in participial constructions; Hebrew supplies its lack of them by the use of the construct infinitive in addition to participles. Again the Greek translators were able, through their distinction between perfect and aorist time, to render shades of meaning very precisely; not so the Latins. A glaring instance of this defect occurs in "purgationem peccatorum faciens" in Heb. i. 3 for "postquam fecisset." The Old-Latin even had recourse to the genitive absolute, e.g. "et cogitantium omnium" (Luke iii. 15), and "omnium autem mirantium" (ix. 43); but though the use of the participle is immensely developed in the Vulgate, no traces of the genitive absolute remain. It would be wrong to suppose, however, that the Latin Bible stands in a splendid isolation in this respect; throughout the West the Latin language was experiencing the influence of tongues possessing idioms alien to its genius, but which gradually usurped in it a place for themselves. Thus the ablative of comparison with the preposition *a* or *ab* prefixed is patently a pure Hebraism, yet even Pliny writes "præstantior ab iis non est."⁵

In translating as literally as he did Jerome was but adhering to the principles he had laid down for himself: "I emphatically declare that in translating from Greek—except Holy Scripture, where the very order of the words is a sacrament—I have rendered not word for word, but sense for sense."⁶ In translating Holy Scripture, then, St. Jerome had to do perpetual violence to his tastes as a man of

¹ 2 Sam. vi. 2.

² See St. Jerome's own note on this, on Eccles. vii., *P.L.* XXV. 1072.

³ Ps. lxi. 4; cf. "sanguinibus," Ps. xvi. 4, li. 15. In his own version of these two Psalms St. Jerome has "sanguine" in Ps. xvi., but keeps the plural in Ps. li. 15.

⁴ Ps. xli. 2.

⁵ See Labriolle, *Latin Christianity*, English translation, p. 48, note.

⁶ *Ep.* lvii. 5, *P.L.* XXII. 571.

culture. He constantly recurs to the difficulty he experienced in finding the apt word: “There are many words which cannot be translated from Greek into Latin nor from Hebrew into Greek, nor conversely,”¹ and throughout his commentaries we notice how carefully he weighs shades of meaning, for “even Latin itself,” he writes, “constantly varies according to time and place.”² But the sacrifice ensured the permanent value of his work. It has made the Vulgate “the queen of versions” which, despite its literal character, has an undeniable charm about it. “The very order of the words is a sacrament”; again and again we find that an un-Latin order is simply due to the order in the original. But even Jerome could not always keep up the effort: “testimonia hæc quæ docebo illis,” ran the Gallican Psalter,³ but Jerome: “testificationem meam”; and we feel that the Church’s judgement in not using his version of the Psalter was justified. You can read it, but no one could sing it.⁴

We give here, since St. Jerome’s version⁵ and the Roman Psalter⁶ are not readily accessible, his twofold corrections and his translation of two Psalms.

¹ On Ephes. i. 14, *P.L.* XXVI. 457.

² On Gal. iii. 10, *P.L.* XXVI. 357. As examples of Jerome’s amazing fidelity to his principle of “word for word” we may take almost any chapter of the Bible, but one will suffice: Jer. vi. 22-24 is a word-for-word translation and in the identical order of the original; one pronoun only is given in the singular instead of the plural.

³ Ps. cxxxii. 12.

⁴ As he himself remarks: “The translation made by the Septuagint is to be sung in church because of its antiquity; yet we must know what the ‘Hebrew truth’ has; the learned must know it for the sake of Biblical knowledge” (*Ep.* cvi. 46).

⁵ *P.L.* XXVIII. 1127-1240, the text of which we print, but in the footnotes we give the variants from the text printed by J. M. Harden, *Psalterium juxta Hebræos Hieronymi*, S.P.C.K., 1922, a detailed study of the text and its MS. authority. Harden points out that “Vallarsi’s text . . . teems with mistakes, if the evidence of the manuscripts is to be trusted. I have noted more than three hundred places . . . in which this text differs from that of all the seven manuscripts in the British Museum which I have examined, and about two hundred others in which it is at variance with that of all but one, the Codex Hubertianus,” *loc. cit.*, p. viii.

⁶ *P.L.* XXIX. 119-398, with the Gallican or ordinary Psalter in parallel columns.

PSALM XXIII. (XXII.).

(THE ROMAN PSALTER.)

Psalmus David.

Dominus regit me, et nihil mihi deerit:

in loco pascuæ, ibi me collocavit.

Super aquam refectionis educavit me:

animam meam convertit.

Deduxit me super semitam justitiæ, propter nomen suum.

Nam etsi ambulem in medio umbræ mortis,

non timebo mala quoniam tu mecum es.

Virga tua et baculus tuus, ipsa me consolata sunt.

Parasti in conspectu meo mensam, adversus eos qui tribulant me.

Impinguasti in oleo caput meum et poculum meum inebrians, quam præclarum est!

Et misericordia tua subsequatur me omnibus diebus vitæ meæ.

Ut inhabitem in domo Domini, in longitudinem dierum.

PSALM XXIII. (XXII.).

(THE GALLICAN PSALTER.)

Psalmus David.

Dominus regit me, et nihil mihi deerit:

in loco pascuæ, ibi me collocavit.

Super aquam refectionis educavit me:

animam meam convertit.

Deduxit me super semitas justitiæ propter nomen suum.

Nam etsi ambulavero in medio umbræ mortis,

non timebo mala, quoniam tu mecum es.

Virga tua et baculus tuus, ipsa me consolata sunt.

Parasti in conspectu meo mensam, adversus eos qui tribulant me.

Impinguasti in oleo caput meum, et calix meus inebrians quam præclarus est.

Et misericordia tua subsequetur me omnibus diebus vitæ meæ.

Et ut inhabitem in domo Domini omnibus diebus vitæ meæ, in longitudine dierum.

PSALM XXIII. (XXII.).

(ST. JEROME'S VERSION FROM THE HEBREW.)

Canticum David.

Dominus pascit me, nihil mihi deerit.

In pascuis herbarum accubavit¹ me:
super aquas refectionis enutrivit me.

Animam meam refecit:

duxit me per semitas justitiæ propter nomen suum.

Sed etsi ambulaverim in valle umbræ² mortis,
non timebo malum quoniam tu mecum:³

virga tua et baculus tuus, ipsa consolabuntur me

Pones coram me mensam

ex adverso hostium meorum:

Impinguasti in⁴ oleo caput meum,
calix meus inebrians.

Sed et benignitas et misericordia subsequantur⁵ me
omnibus diebus vitæ meæ:

Et habitatio⁶ in domo Domini,
in longitudine dierum.

¹ *Adclinavit.*⁴ *Omit in.*² *Omit umbræ.*⁵ *Subsequitur.*³ *Add es.*⁶ *Habitabo.*

PSALM LXII. (LXI.).

(ROMAN PSALTER.)

*In finem, pro Idithun, Psalmus
David.*Nonne Deo subdita erit anima
mea?

ab ipso enim salutare meum.

Etenim ipse est Deus meus et
salutaris meus,
adjutor meus, non movebor
amplius.

Quousque irruitis in hominem?

interficitis universi vos:

tanquam parieti inclinato et
maceriæ depulsæ.Verumtamen honorem meum cogi-
taverunt repellere, cucurri in
siti:ore suo benedicebant et in corde
suo maledicebant: *Diap-
salma.*Verumtamen Deo subdita erit
anima mea:quoniam ab ipso est patientia
mea.Etenim ipse est Deus meus et salu-
taris meus:

adjutor meus, non emigrabo.

In Deo salutare meum et gloria
mea,Deus auxilii mei, et spes mea in
Deo est.Sperate in eo omnis conventus
plebis,et effundite coram illo corda
vestra:

quia Deus adjutor noster est.

*Diapsalma.*Verumtamen vani filii hominum,
mendaces filii hominum in sta-
teris:ut decipiant ipsi de vanitate
sua in idipsum.Nolite sperare in iniquitate,
et in rapinis nolite concupiscere.Divitiæ si affluent, nolite cor
apponere:semel locutus est Deus, duo hæc
audivi.Quia potestas Dei est, et tibi,
Domine, misericordia:quia tu reddes singulis secundum
opera eorum.

PSALM LXII. (LXI.).

(THE GALLICAN VERSION.)

*In finem, pro Idithun, Psalmus
David.*Nonne Deo subjecta erit anima
mea?

Ab ipso enim salutare meum,

Nam et ipse Deus meus et
salutaris meus;Susceptor meus, non movebor
amplius.

Quousque irruitis in hominem?

interficitis universi vos:

tanquam parieti inclinato et
maceriæ depulsæ.Verumtamen pretium meum cogi-
taverunt repellere; cucurri in
siti;Ore suo benedicebant, et corde
suo maledicebant. *Diapsalma.*Verumtamen Deo subjecta esto
anima mea:

quoniam ab ipso patientia mea.

Quia ipse Deus meus et salvator
meus,

adjutor meus, non emigrabo.

In Deo salutare meum et gloria
mea,Deus auxilii mei, et spes mea in
Deo est.Sperate in eo omnis congregatio
populi,effundite coram illo corda
vestra:Deus adjutor noster in
æternum. *Diapsalma.*Verumtamen vani filii hominum,
mendaces filii hominum in
stateris:ut decipiant ipsi de vanitate in
idipsum.Nolite sperare in iniquitate, et
rapinas nolite concupiscere:divitiæ si affluent, nolite cor
apponere.Semel locutus est Deus, duo hæc
audivi:quia potentia Dei est et tibi
Deus misericordia:quia tu reddes unicuique juxta
opera sua.

PSALM LXII. (LXI.).

(ST. JEROME'S TRANSLATION FROM THE HEBREW.)

Victori, per Idithun, Canticum David.

Attamen apud Deum silebit anima mea :

ex eo salus mea.

Attamen ipse est scutum meum et salus mea¹

fortitudo mea, non commovebor amplius.

Usquequo insidiamini contra virum, interficitis omnes,
sicut murus inclinatus¹ et maceria corruens,

Partem enim ejus cogitaverunt expellere,

placuerunt sibi in mendacio :

ore suo² benedicunt, et corde suo maledicunt. *Semper.*Verumtamen Deo tace³ anima mea :

ab ipso enim præstolatio mea.

Ipse enim⁴ fortitudo mea et salus mea :

susceptor meus, non timebo.

In Deo salutare meum et gloria mea :

robur fortitudinis meæ, et⁵ salus mea in Deo.

Sperate in eo omni tempore, populi,

effundite coram eo cor vestrum :

Deus spes nostra.⁶ *Semper.*

Verumtamen vanitas filii Adam,

mendacium filii viri,

in stateris dolosis fraudulenter agunt simul.

Nolite confidere in calumnia

et in rapina ne frustremini :

divitiæ si affluerint,⁷ ne apponatis cor.

Unum locutus est Deus,

duo hæc audiui : quia imperium Dei est :

Et tibi, Domine, misericordia :

quia tu reddes unicuique secundum opus suum.

VIII. Bibliography.

In addition to the very noteworthy articles in the Biblical dictionaries, *s.v.*, *Latin versions*, *Vulgate*, *Jerome*, etc., see : Abbot, *Evangeliorum versio antehieronymiana*, 1884. S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du Moyen âge*, Paris, 1893, reviewed by Batiffol, *R.B.*, October, 1893 ; also *La Bible Française au Moyen Âge*, 1884 ; *de l'histoire de la Vulgate en France*, 1887. Delisle, *Les Bibles de Théodulfe*, Paris, 1879. Hoberg, *De Sti. Hieronymi ratione interpretandi* ; see St. Jerome, *Ep. lviii.*, *De Optimo Genere interpretandi*. Kaulen, *Geschichte der Vulgata*, 1868. L. Sanders, O.S.B., *Études sur S. Jérôme*, 1903. Wordsworth, Sanday, and White, *Old-Latin Biblical Texts*, 1883, onwards. Goelser, *Étude Lexicographique et Grammaticale de la Latinité de Saint Jérôme*, Paris, 1884. L. Bayard, *Le Latin de Saint Cyprien*, Paris, 1903. E. W. Watson, *Style and Language of St. Cyprian*. H. von Soden, *Das lateinische Neue Testament in Africa zur Zeit Cyprians*, 1909. *The Vulgate Psalter*, with Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary, ed. Macaulay and Brebner, 1913.

¹ *Inclinus.*² Add *singuli*.³ *Retice.*⁴ Add *est*.⁵ Omit *et*.⁶ Add *est*.⁷ *Fluxerint.*

CHAPTER IX

THE BIBLE IN THE BRITISH ISLES

- A. Early Versions to the Time of Wyclif.
 - B. The Rheims and Douay Versions.
 - C. Chronological Lists.
 - D. Bibliography.
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A. Early Versions to the Time of Wyclif.

England has always been a Bible-loving country, and the MSS. produced by Irish and English copyists were, and still are, famous. The connection between the Irish Church and the monasteries of Corbey, St. Germain, and St. Gall is well known, and several of the famous MSS. which derive their names from those monasteries were written by Irish hands, while the *Codex Aureus* of the Gospels was, according to an Old-English note on the title-page, bought in the reign of King Alfred for the use of Christ Church, Canterbury. The above-mentioned MSS. give the Old-Latin text. But those which give the Vulgate text are extraordinarily numerous; it is calculated that there are about 8,000 in existence. About 180 of these are regarded as of high value, and it is worth noting that of these no less than twenty-three are probably due to English and at least thirty to Irish copyists. Amongst these are such famous MSS. as the *Codex Amiatinus*, written either at Wearmouth or Jarrow, the *Lindisfarne Gospels*,¹ the *Lichfield Gospels*, the *Stonyhurst St. John*, the *Books of Deer*, *Kells*, *Armagh*, *Durrow*, *Macdurnan*, and *Moling*, and the *Rushworth Gospels*. Among English Biblical scholars whose names are held in veneration, we need only mention St. Benet Biscop who, on returning from his fourth journey to Rome

¹ *The Lindisfarne Gospels, from the Northumbrian Interlinear Gloss to the Gospels contained in the MS. collated with the Rushworth MS.,* Surtees Society, 1854.

in A.D. 678, furnished the Scriptoria at Jarrow and Wearmouth; the Abbot Ceolfrid who caused the greatest of all the existing Latin codices, *viz.* *Amiatinus*, to be copied and sent to Rome in A.D. 715; the Ven. Bede, *d.* 735, whose homilies on the Bible were read in church even during his lifetime; and Alcuin whose labours on the revision of the Vulgate text produced the famous Alcuinian copies of the Bible, *e.g.* the *Vallicellanus Codex* of the Chiesa Nuova at Rome.

Anglo-Saxon Versions.—Cædmon, *d. c.* 680,¹ paraphrased portions of *Genesis*, *Exodus* and *Daniel*, which have been preserved to us. The Ven. Bede (673-735) translated at least the Gospels, as we know from the story of his death by his biographer Cuthbert, but no fragment of his translation has come down to us. King Alfred, too, translated certain portions of *Exodus* and *Acts* as a preface to his code of Saxon laws;² while we have a metrical version by Ælfric, Abbot of Peterborough and afterwards Archbishop of York in 1023, of large portions of the *Pentateuch*, *Josue*, *Judges*, *Kings*, *Esther*, *Job*, *Judith* and *Maccabees*.³ There are remains, too, of Anglo-Norman translations of the *Psalter* and the *Canticle of Canticles* previous to A.D. 1200; while in the twelfth century the Augustinian Canon, Orm, composed the so-called "Ormulum," a metrical paraphrase of the stories of the Bible.⁴ In the fourteenth century we have two versions of the *Psalter*, that of William of Shoreham and that of Richard Rolle of Hampole, *d.* 1349.⁵

¹ See *The English Hexapla*, p. 1. Cædmon's *Metrical Paraphrases*, ed. Thorpe, 1862.

² *Ibid.* pp. 1-2.

³ *Ibid.* p. 2.

⁴ *The Ormulum*, now First Edited from the Original MS. in the Bodleian, R. Meadows White, Oxford University Press, 1852.

⁵ See *The English Hexapla*, p. 3; *The Anglo-Saxon Heptateuch and Job with the Gospel of Nicodemus, and Judith*, Dano-Saxonice, ed. Thwaite, Oxford, 1698; *The Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels in Parallel Columns with Wycliffe and Tyndale*, ed. J. Bosworth, 1865; *Anglo-Saxon Version of the Gospels*, ed. by Thorne, 1842; *The Holy Gospels in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian, and Old Mercian Versions*, ed. W. W. Skeat, Cambridge, 1871-1887. This edition gives the *Lindisfarne*, *Rushworth*, and *Corpus Christi MSS.* The Gospel according to St. Matthew, the *Anglo-Saxon and Northumbrian Versions* synoptically arranged with *Collations of the Best MSS.*, Cambridge, 1858. *Quatuor Evangeliorum versiones duæ, Gothica scil. et Anglo-Saxonica*, curavit, Mareschallus, Amsterdam, 1684. For the Gothic version see Ulfilas, *Veteris et Novi Testamenti Gothica fragmenta*, ed. Gabelentz and Loeb, 1843.

This brings us to the era of Wyclif. Protestant writers commonly insist that he was the first to translate the Bible into English, and that he did this in opposition to the Church which desired at all costs to keep the Bible from the people. This only too-popular view is thus set out with his usual exaggeration by Froude: "Of the Gospels and Epistles so much only was known by the laity as was read in the church services, and that *intoned* as if to be purposely unintelligible to the understanding. *Of the rest of the Bible, nothing was known at all*, because nothing was supposed to be necessary."¹

How untrue and how unjust this accusation is may be thus briefly shown:

1. We have already seen that there were translations of the *Psalter* in the fourteenth century.

2. We have also noticed the Anglo-Saxon versions.

3. It should be remembered that all who could read used French and Latin which were the official languages of the educated world; the people as a whole could not have read the Bible had it been put before them in any language.

4. The art of printing had not yet come in, and the price of a manuscript Bible was prohibitive; we find £25 paid for a Breviary in A.D. 1518.²

5. Blessed Thomas More says in his *Dialogue*:

"The whole Bible was long before his (Wyclif's) days by virtuous and well-learned men translated into the English tongue, and by good and godly people with devotion and soberness, well and reverently read."³

And again:

"As for old traditions before Wyclif's time, they remain lawful and be in some folk's hands. Myself have seen and can show you Bibles, fair and old, in English, which have been known and seen by the Bishop of the diocese, and left in laymen's hands and women's."⁴

¹ See *History of England*, III. 76-84, ed. 1873.

² Basing his calculations on M. Leber, *Appréciation de la fortune privée au Moyen Age*, Buckingham estimates that the cost of a copy of the Catholic Bible would work out at the present day at £218, of which £35 would have gone to pay for the parchment, *The Bible of the Middle Ages*, 1853, pp. 2, 38, 63.

³ Published in 1530, p. 138.

⁴ "More was a busy and much-practised lawyer in times when printing was very rare indeed. So he would have had constantly in his hands parchments, deeds, reports, and letters—ancient and of his

6. It is the fashion to say that Blessed Thomas More was mistaken. But his witness is fully borne out by that of Cranmer who in his prologue to the second edition of the Great Bible says :

"If the matter should be tried by custom, we might also allege custom for the reading of the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, and prescribe the more ancient custom. For it is not much above one hundred years ago since Scripture hath not been accustomed to be read in the vulgar tongue within this realm, and many hundred years before that it was translated and read in the Saxon's tongue . . . and when this language waxed old and out of common usage, because folk should not lack the fruit of reading, it was again translated into the newer language, whereof yet also many copies remain and be daily found."

7. Even Foxe, the martyrologist, makes the same acknowledgement :

"If histories be well examined we shall find both before the Conquest and after, as well before John Wickliffe was born as since, the whole body of the Scriptures was by sundry men translated into our country tongue."¹

own day. To hold him liable of a gross error, or almost sure to make one over documents and handwritings—the accurate treatment of which was habitual and essential to him—would show a dismal want of knowledge about More's education and profession" (John Pollen, S.J., in a letter to the writer, March 1, 1921).

¹ This was in 1571, in the Dedication to Queen Elizabeth from the pen of Foxe, prefixed to Archbishop Cranmer's *The Gospels of the lower Evangelistes translated in the olde Saxons tyme into the vulgare tounge of the Saxons, newly collected out of Auncient Monumentes of the sayd Saxons, and now published for testimonie of the same*. Thus note the *Preface* to the Rheims version: "In our owne countrie, notwithstanding the Latin tonge was ever (to use Venerable Bede's words) common to all the provinces of the same for meditation or studie of Scriptures, and no vulgar translation commonly used or occupied of the multitude, yet they were extant in English even before the troubles that Wicleffe and his folowers raised in our Church, as appeareth as well by the testimonie of Malmesburie recording that V. Bede translated divers partes into the vulgar tonge of his time, and by some peces yet remaining: as by a Provincial Constitution of Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canturburie. . . ." There then follows an abstract of the *Constitution* of the Council of Oxford given below. Thus note Luther's own express testimony: "It was an effect of God's power, that in the Papacy should have remained, in the first place, sacred baptism; secondly, the text of the Holy Gospel, which it was the custom to read from the pulpit in the vernacular tongue of every nation; thirdly, the sacred forgiveness and absolution of sin, as well

8. In the British Museum catalogue of 1892 we find that the museum possesses eleven German editions of the Bible dating from 1466-1518, three Bohemian editions between 1488-1506, one Dutch of 1477, five French from 1510-1531, seven Italian from 1471-1532. All these are, of course, pre-Lutheran; they are Catholic versions in different languages. It must be remembered, too, that these only represent a tithe of the copies which exist; they are merely those which the museum has collected in the course of years.

In 1911 the British Museum authorities held a Bible exhibition, and the official *Guide* tells us that exhibit No. 21 is the *Gospels in English* produced early in the eleventh century; it also says that the *Apocalypse* appeared in the course of the fourteenth century. The library of Corpus Christi College contains a manuscript giving the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, as well as St. Paul's Epistles; this is attributed to the early part of the fourteenth century.¹ Thus Buckingham, *l.c.*, quotes from Dugdale's *Monasticon*, iii. 309-324, the statement that at the visitation of St. Paul's Cathedral in 1295 there were found twelve copies of the Gospels bound in silver . . . six copies of the Epistles, glossed copies of the Epistles, the Minor Prophets, the Gospels with the commentary of St. Thomas of Aquin (presumably the *Catena Aurea*—and St. Thomas only died in 1274). He also quotes Martene as saying that at Metz he had seen a Bible seven or eight hundred years old, and a copy of the Major and Minor Prophets in Saxon characters (Martene, *Voyage Littéraire*, 1717, i. 177), Buckingham, pp. 9-10. The same writer instances from the collection of Cotton MSS. in the British Museum "a copy of the Book of Proverbs in Latin with an interlinear Anglo-Saxon translation, a copy of the Book of Genesis in Anglo-Saxon, with extracts from the other Books of Moses and from Joshua, a Book of Precepts extracted from the Proverbs, and a Harmony of the Four Gospels"; while he adds that "among the Harleian MSS. we find the Four Gospels in Anglo-Saxon; and copies of the Heptateuch (*viz.* the *Pentateuch*, *Josue*, *Judges* and *Ruth*), the Psalter and the Gospels, in the same language abound in various repositories," *Harleian MSS.*, No. 3449, and the *Wanley Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon MSS.*, 64, 67, 76, 98, 152, 211.

9. No proof has ever been brought forward to show that the Church forbade, or even discouraged, the translation of the Bible into the vernacular. This may come as a surprise

privately in confession as in public; fourthly, the most holy sacrament of the Altar," *De Missa Privata*, vi. ed. Jensen, fol. 92, quoted by Buckingham, *The Bible in the Middle Ages*, p. 58.

¹ *The English Hexapla*, p. 3. For pre-Reformation versions see Wiseman, *The Bible and the Reformation*, D.R., October, 1837.

even to Catholics, for we have been accustomed to hear accusations to the contrary all our lives ! But the proof is easy :

In A.D. 1408 the Council of Oxford, under Archbishop Arundel, published the following *Constitution* :

"It is dangerous, as St. Jerome declares, to translate the text of Holy Scripture out of one idiom into another, since it is not easy in translations to preserve exactly the same meaning in all things. . . . We therefore command and ordain that henceforth no one translate any text (it is question of passages, *texta* in the heading of the *Constitution*) of Holy Scripture into English or any other language in a book, booklet, or tract, and that no one read any book, booklet, or tract of this kind lately made in the time of the said John Wyclif or since, or that hereafter may be made either in part or wholly, either publicly or privately, under pain of excommunication, until *such translation shall have been approved and allowed by the diocesan of the place, or (if need be) by the Provincial Council*. He who shall act otherwise let him be punished as an abettor of heresy and error."¹

Blessed Thomas More's comment on this law is striking :

"And this is a law that so many long have spoken of, and so few have in all this while sought to seek (or find out) whether they say the truth or no. For I trow that in this law you see nothing unreasonable. For it neither forbiddeth the translations to be read that were already well done of old before Wyclif's days, nor damnth his because it was new, but because it was naught ; nor prohibiteth new to be made, but provideth that they shall not be read, if they be made amiss, till they be by good examination amended."

Thus three times in the course of the *Dialogue* does More repeat the statement that the Bible was translated into English before Wyclif's days.

10. Cardinal Gasquet has argued with great plausibility that the so-called "Wycliffite" Bibles, of which something like 200 copies exist, are really nothing else than old English orthodox Bibles ; that Wyclif himself has only the most shadowy of claims ever to have translated more than the Gospels ; and that even the famous Bible reposing on its velvet cushion in the King's Library at the British Museum, and labelled *The English Bible, Wycliffe's Translation*, is but an orthodox Catholic Bible dating from a time

¹ For the text see Wilkins, *Concilia*, III. 317. As it was a common taunt levelled at the Catholic translators that they had only thrown the Bible open to the people from necessity and because the Reformers had already made it accessible, it is well to point out that this *Constitution* antedates the Reformation by more than a hundred years.

anterior to Wyclif.¹ Here we will give but one of the many arguments which the Cardinal has brought forward in support of his view. Blessed Thomas More, when combating the oft-repeated statement that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners burnt every copy of the Bible on which they could lay hands, says :

"If this were done so it were not well done ; but . . . I believe that ye mistake it."

And in answer to the objection that the Bible of a Lollard named Hun was burnt in the Bishop of London's prison, he says :

"This I remember well, that . . . there were in the prologue of that Bible such words touching the Blessed Sacrament as good Christian men did abhor to hear, and that gave the readers undoubted occasion to think that the book was written after Wyclif's copy and by him translated into our tongue, and that this Bible was destroyed not because it was in English, but because *it contained gross and manifest heresy.*"

From this it is clear that the Wycliffite Bibles, *i.e.* those which emanated from him or his followers, were distinctly heretical, as indeed the whole story supposes. Since the existing Bibles bear no trace of any heretical tendency the conclusion is inevitable : these Bibles are not Wycliffite at all, but pure, orthodox, Catholic, pre-Reformation Bibles. This conclusion is startling, but it is supported by a wealth of learning on the part of Cardinal Gasquet, and if further proof were wanting it would be found in the various attempts at replies.²

¹ *The Pre-Reformation English Bible*, being Essays IV-V. in *The Old English Bible*, 1897 ; republished from *D.R.*, July, 1894. See, too, *The Eve of the Reformation*, 1900, chap. viii., *The Printed English Bible*.

² See the *English Historical Review*, January, 1895, an article by Matthew ; Sir Frederic Kenyon, *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts*, 3rd ed., 1903, pp. 204-208 ; J. H. Lupton, *H.D.B.*, extra vol., s.v. *Versions (English)*. A more determined effort to undermine Gasquet's position has recently been made by Miss Margaret Deanesly, M.A., in *The Lollard Bible and Other Medieval Biblical Versions*, Cambridge University Press, 1920 ; see *D.R.*, January, 1921. See, too, *The Holy Bible, with the Apocryphal Books, in the Earliest English Versions made from the Latin Vulgate by Wycliffe and his Followers*, ed. Forshall and Madden, Oxford, 1850 ; also *The New Testament in English, translated by John Wycliffe, circa 1380, now First Printed from a Contemporary Manuscript formerly in the Monastery of Sion, Middlesex*, 1848 ; *A Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version*, A. C. Panes, Cambridge University Press, 1904.

B. The Rheims and Douay Versions.

The Catholic version of the Bible is commonly known as "the Douay," but as a matter of fact the New Testament was translated at Rheims and published in 1582, while the Old Testament, though translated before the New and at Rheims, was only published at Douay in 1609.

Four great names are inseparably connected with this translation—those of William Allen, Gregory Martin, Richard Bristow and Thomas Worthington. Allen was principal of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, when he was obliged to fly from the country owing to his staunchness in the Catholic faith. After a stay at Louvain and a brief spell in England he settled at Douay where he rendered historic service to the Catholic cause in England by founding Douay Seminary. He was summoned to Rome by Sixtus V. who made him a Cardinal. Gregory XIV. placed him on the commission for the revision of the Sixtine Vulgate, and his name occurs in the famous inscription at Zagorola commemorating the work of this commission.¹ Gregory Martin was one of the Foundation scholars of St. John's, Oxford, and then tutor in the family of the Duke of Norfolk. His reputation for learning was very great, but he gave up all the opportunities offered by the University "for conscience' sake"; before leaving he wrote to Campion, the future martyr: "If we two can live together we can live on nothing; and if this is too little, I have money; but if this also fails, one thing remains: they that sow in tears shall reap in joy."

From Oxford Martin went to Douay where he was ordained in 1573; in 1576 he was summoned to Rome by Gregory XIII. to assist in the formation of the English College. Two years later he went to Rheims whither the Douay College had been removed, and there he began the work of translating the Bible into English. His hard work and laborious days as professor undermined a constitution already delicate, and he died at Rheims, October 28, 1582, shortly after the publication of the New Testament.²

¹ See above, p. 228.

² In addition to his published controversial work, Martin left in manuscript a *Dictionary of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin*.

Richard Bristow entered at Oxford in 1555; he became a Fellow of Exeter College, and he and Campion were accounted the greatest lights of the University in their day; they were selected to hold a public disputation before Queen Elizabeth on occasion of her visit to the city in 1566. Like the others, however, Bristow was compelled to flee the country, and in 1569 he joined Allen at Douay and became his chief support. To him we owe the very polemical notes which appeared in the early editions of the New Testament. The work at Douay, combined with his labours on the New Testament, destroyed Bristow's health, and he died on October 15, 1581, at Harrow, at the early age of forty-three.

Thomas Worthington passed from Oxford to Douay in 1572. He then went on the English mission and suffered the terrible torment of remaining in the "pit" for over two months. When released he returned to Douay where he became President of the Seminary. To him we owe the notes appended to the Old Testament. He died in 1626.

To these four men, then, we owe the Douay Bible. Martin appears to have been responsible for the whole translation, though there are reasons for thinking that the other professors also contributed their share. To Allen fell the onerous task of providing the funds for the undertaking and of correcting his companions' work.¹

To appreciate rightly the translation these men produced we must bear in mind the following points: These exiles were the pick of the University which had driven them out; they were most learned men. Further, they were apostles in the truest sense of the term, for their whole lives were

¹ Thus note Dodd: "The work may be entirely ascribed to Mr. Martin; the others [he includes Dr. Reynolds, a Fellow of New College] being only revisers. He translated the whole Bible, though it was not published all at one time. The New Testament was first put out at Rheims and Antwerp, with Dr. Bristow's notes. The Old Testament was not published till several years after, when Dr. Worthington put it to the press, with his own notes and historical tables" (*Church History*, II., p. 121). It is interesting to note that the Catholics of Germany were not idle at this time of stress. In 1539 there appeared *Das Neue Testament so durch hochgelerten Hieronymum Emser seligen verteutscht unter des Durchleuchtigen*, or a version made by Emser in opposition to Luther, whom he criticizes severely.

devoted to the cause of the Catholic faith. We have seen how both Martin and Bristow died at a very early date as the result of their strenuous labours, and we can well term them "martyrs." Again, they all lived in an atmosphere of controversy such as even in these days we can hardly understand. The heretics had their translations and, in Allen's own words, "have at their finger-tips every text of Scripture which appears to make for them, and that, too, in some heretical version; moreover, by stringing passages together and changing the sacred text, they make it seem as though they were saying nothing but what was in the Bible." Consequently there was a feeling of unrest abroad among Catholics; men began to fear lest perhaps the true Scriptures were really being withheld from them. These considerations compelled the Douay professors to present a translation direct from the original, as literal as possible, and replete with notes to illustrate the controverted points. Allen, writing in 1578, says:

"We could remedy these evils if we, too, had a Catholic version of the Bible, for all the English versions are most corrupt. . . . If His Holiness shall judge it expedient, we will ourselves endeavour to have the Bible truly and genuinely translated according to the Church's approved edition, for we have amongst us men most fit for the work. . . . It seems safer that men should have a faithful and Catholic translation rather than that they should use corrupt versions to their peril, if not to their destruction. Moreover, the dangers arising from difficult passages could be met by suitable notes."

In the margin of the Douay Diary for October, 1578, we find:

"October 16, or thereabouts, Mr. Martin, Licentiate, began the translation of the Bible into English; thus at length we shall be enabled to meet the corruptions which the heretics have now for so long a time unfortunately forced upon nearly all our countrymen. In order that this work, an exceedingly useful one, may appear as quickly as possible, he undertakes to translate two chapters a day; and in order to secure its accuracy, our President, Mr. Allen, and also Mr. Bristow, undertake to diligently read the said chapters and faithfully to correct anything which may seem to call for it."¹

In the Diary for March, 1582, we find the startlingly brief entry: "This month the last touches were put to the

¹ It is interesting to note the name of Estius as one of the theological censors of the second edition which appeared at Douay in 1600.

English translation of the New Testament.”¹ Allen writes later that the cost of printing, etc., will amount to about £3,000 of our present money.²

We pointed out above that the translators were compelled to put before the people a translation which should as closely as possible give the words of the original. But they translated directly from the Latin Vulgate and not from the Greek—we are speaking here of the New Testament only. The reasons they allege for so doing are interesting. We present them in an abbreviated form :

We translate the old vulgar Latin text, not the common Greek text, for these causes :

1. Its antiquity ; it has been in use 1,300 years.
2. It is that corrected by St. Jerome.
3. It is therefore that commended by St. Augustine in a letter to St. Jerome.
4. It has always been used in Church services, in commentaries, sermons, etc.
5. The Council of Trent declared it “authentic.”
6. It is the most majestic, most grave, and most impartial of all translations.
7. It adheres so closely to the Greek as almost to merit the censure of being slavish. In this respect it compares favourably with the Protestant translations.
8. Even such opponents to Catholicism as Theodore Beza prefer it to any other.
9. Even Luther was forced to acknowledge that if everybody continued to translate at his own pleasure men would have to reinstate the old Councils in order to preserve the unity of faith.
10. It is not only better than all other Latin translations, but than the Greek itself in those places where they disagree.

At the same time the translators paid attention to the Greek text, as the original notes, now removed, fully prove, and as the translators themselves announce on their title-page.

The appearance of this translation was the signal for a storm of anger in England and on the Continent. The polemical notes especially roused indignation, for they were

¹ *The First and Second Diaries of the English College*, ed. T. F. Knox, 1878.

² But he writes to Agazarri, S.J., June 13, 1581, that Father Parsons “hopes to get three to four thousand crowns for the English Testaments, for many want them” (Knox, *Letters and Memorials of Cardinal Allen*, p. 96).

couched in words of emphatic condemnation of the various English translations and of the wiles of the heretics. The term "mealy-mouthed" had not then been coined; but certainly no controversialist of the period was guilty of whatever that term may mean. Dr. Cotton but voices in milder fashion what men then felt when he says:

"The translators of Rhemes had openly thrown down the gauntlet of defiance; and, in their Annotations, not only defended their own version, but heaped every foul and abusive epithet upon the Protestant Bibles, the Protestant Clergy, the Reformers, of Germany, Switzerland, France, and England; upon Queen Elizabeth, and the Protestant Faith. It would be difficult to find a more studied series of deliberate insults than these Notes contain."¹

Still, the evident learning of the Rhemish editors, their skilful use of the Fathers and their patent honesty—despite their invective—threw the Protestants into a panic. For Martin was not content merely to publish a translation of the New Testament; in the same year that it appeared (1582) he brought out his *Discovery of the Manifold Corruptions of the Holie Scriptures by the Heretikes of our Daies, especially the English Sectaries*. This, with the polemical *Preface* to the Rheims version, roused such feeling that Elizabeth appealed to Beza to answer Martin. He declined, and suggested instead that the Puritan, Cartwright, should undertake the task; but Archbishop Whitgift, who disliked him, stopped the work when it was well begun. Fulke, the Master of Pembroke, Cambridge, took up the task, and brought out in the following year *A Defence of the Sincere and True Translation of the Holy Scriptures into the English Tongue against the Manifold Cavils, Frivolous Quarrels, and Impudent Slanders of Gregorie Martin*. Fulke followed this up six years later with a huge volume, in which he printed in parallel columns the Rheims version and "the Translation out of the Original Greeke, commonly used in the Church of England."² This work was republished at least

¹ Rhemes and Doway, Oxford, 1855, p. 15.

² *The New Testament translated out of the Vulgar Latin by the Papists of the Traiterous Seminarie at Rhemes, whereunto is added the translation out of the Original Greeke (the Bishops' Bible), in parallel columns, with a Confutation of Arguments, Glosses, Annotations, &c., which containe manifest Impietie, Heresie, Treason, and Slander against the Church of God and the True Teachers thereof.*

three times, the fourth edition appearing in 1633, with a dedicatory letter to King Charles by Hester Ogden, daughter of Fulke. She tells the king that her father's work was the best defence against "the inrode and invasion of a Troupe of Romish and Rhemish Jesuites who endeavour . . . to build up the walls of Rome in England." Fulke himself was, as the list of his publications shows, a mighty controversialist. As we read his laborious onslaught on every sentence of the Rheims version, *Preface* and *Notes* included, we can see the genesis of most of the anti-Catholic diatribes which even now pass muster with some people.

But Fulke was determined further to destroy the credit of the Rheims version. By 1589 he had completed a *Confutation of the Rhemish Testament*, but no licence for its publication could be obtained till 1618, when it appeared. This is a veritable arsenal of weapons against every peculiarly Catholic doctrine, and as such was republished in 1834, on the occasion of the publication by an American firm of the original Rheims version. The editor's *Preface* to this edition, commenting on this phenomenon, contains the delightful statement that—

"The Commentary" (*viz.* the Rheims version with notes, etc.) "by which it was confidently hoped 'the bright and blissful Reformation' would be obliterated, the modern Jesuits dare not print; and the Protestants have published that volume, confident that no reflecting citizen who reads the exhibition of the doctrines and practices of Romanism by the Jesuits of Rheims will ever become a Papist." ¹

The war of pamphlets as well as of tomes continued for some time. Between Fulke's first two publications we find Thomas Bilson, Warden of Winchester, attacking the translation in 1585; G. Wither attacked the *Notes*, 1588; E. Bulkeley the ten reasons, given above, for translating from the Vulgate, 1588; while Cartwright succeeded in bringing out a small portion of his projected attack on the translation in 1606, but his death in the following year caused a further delay, and the whole work only appeared in 1618.²

¹ *Confutation of the Rhemish Testament*, by William Fulke, D.D. New York, 1834.

² This seems to be identical with Fulke's *Confutation* given above, but in the reprint of 1834 no mention is made of Cartwright, save that he and Fulke were in collaboration. See Cotton, *Rhemes and Doway*, pp. 21-22; also *Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism*, 1535-1603, Scott Pearson, Cambridge University Press, 1924.

In the year 1688 appeared Ward's *Errata of the Protestant Bible*. Ward was a Protestant who became a Catholic, and who was led to examine the current Protestant versions. How corrupt these were is evident from the concurrent testimonies of Protestants and Catholics alike. In this treatise Ward maintains that many of these corruptions were deliberate; he quotes the reformers themselves as admitting that they excluded the Deuterocanonical books from their canon because of the doctrine they contained. Thus *Tobias* was repudiated "for that Raphael mentioned in Tobit, neither acknowledge we these seven Angels whereof he makes mention"; similarly *Ecclesiasticus*, "Neither will I believe Free Will, although the book of Ecclesiasticus confirms it an hundred times."¹ Ward took the principal doctrinal points denied by the Reformers, and showed how in the editions of 1562, 1577, and 1579 the translation had been adapted so as to exclude such doctrines; he further showed how the Authorized Version in the edition of 1683 had only partly corrected such errors.

Thus we have "congregation" for "church";² "elders" for "priests";³ "eldership" for "priesthood";⁴ "feed" for "rule";⁵ "wife" for "woman";⁶ "freely beloved" or "art in high favour" for "full of grace";⁷ worshipping of "images" for "idols";⁸ "grave" for "hell";⁹ and, most significant of all, in 1 Pet. ii. 13, where we read "to the king as excelling," the early versions have "as chief head" and A.V. "as supreme."

Much capital has been made of the excessively "Latin" tone of the Rheims version; and certainly there are in the original Rheims many expressions which nowadays are laughable.¹⁰ But it must be remembered that Europe was

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 29.

² Matt. xvi. 18, etc., corrected in A.V.

³ 1 Tim. v. 17.

⁴ 1 Tim. iv. 14, "presbytery" in A.V.

⁵ Matt. ii. 6, Acts xx. 28, where A.V. has "rule," but "overseers" instead of "bishops."

⁶ 1 Cor. ix. 5.

⁷ Luke i. 28, "highly favoured" in A.V.

⁸ Col. iii. 5, Eph. v. 5, 2 Cor. vi. 16, 1 John v. 21, 1 Cor. x. 7, v. 9, 10, etc., all changed in A.V.; but worst of all in Rom. xi. 4 the early versions deliberately add the bracketed words to "bowed their knees to (the image of) Baal," and A.V. adheres to this.

⁹ Acts ii. 27, corrected in A.V., but unchanged in Gen. xxxvii. 35, xlii. 38, xliv. 29, 31.

¹⁰ Some of the renderings of the Rheims version are delightfully quaint, e.g. "He that sat on the throne was like in face to the

at that date flooded with all sorts of translations of the Bible which justified the complaint in the *Preface* to Rheims:

"By their false translations they have instead of God's Law and Testament, and for Christ's written wil and word, given them their owne wicked writing and phantasies, most shamefully in al their versions, Latin, English and other tonges, corrupting both the letter and the sense by false translation, adding, detracting, altering, transposing, pointing and al other guileful meanes, especially where it serveth for the advantage of their private opinions, for which, they are bold also, partly to disauthorize, partly to make doubtful, divers whole bookes allowed for Canonical Scripture by the universal Church of God this thousand yeres and upward."

The translators, then, insist that they have—

"used no more licence than is sufferable in translating of Holy Scriptures, continually keeping ourselves as neere as is possible to our text and to the very wordes and phrases which by long use are made venerable . . . acknowledging with S. Hierem, that in other writings it is ynough to give in translation sense for sense, but that in Scriptures, lest we miss the sense, we must keepe the very wordes."

Hence, they continue:

"We are very precise and religious in following our copie, the old vulgar approved Latin: not only in sense, which we hope we alwaies doe, but sometime in the very wordes also and phrases, which may seeme to the vulgar reader and to common English ears not yet acquainted therewith, rudenesse or ignorance."

Martin was profoundly versed in the various English translations of the period. If anyone will take the *English Hexapla* and compare the Rheims version with the other

Sardine" (Apoc. iv. 3); "ye are azymes" (1 Cor. v. 6-8); "He was assumed" (Acts i. 2); "And all shall be docible of God" (John vi. 45); "the Specious Gate" (Acts iii. 2, 10); "Jewry" for "Judæa" (John iv. 51); "the city was seated quadrangle-wise" (Apoc. xxi. 16); "they sing on shawm and trumpet" (Apoc. xviii. 22); "they were compunct of heart" (Acts ii. 37); "he that doeth verity" (John iii. 21); the "manor" which Jacob gave (John iv. 5); the worst of all "a certaine yong man solowed him clothed with sindon upon the bare" (Mark xiii. 51). The recitative *στ* is, as in the Vulgate, translated, e.g. John i. 20, iv. 17, 51, 52, vi. 42. But these things are the exception, and no one can read a chapter of the original Rheims without feeling how forceful is the English, and how carefully the translators have done their work. If anyone would realize the cadence and rhythm of the Rheims version let him read aloud such passages as Matt. xxv. 1-13 or John xv. 1-7. For further details see *D.R.*, July, 1910, and April, 1913.

translations, he will be surprised at the extent to which Martin has made use of his predecessors, notably Tyndale. Men are apt to think of the Rheims version as an excrescence, as having no place in the series of translations which culminated in the Authorized English Bible, save as a vitriolic protest against them. Yet this is a grave mistake. It was a polemical age, and the various Biblical translators must rank amongst the most polemical writers of the period. They read and—in more senses than one—"devoured" one another's translations. In the "instructions" given to the framers of the Authorized Version they are told to base their version on the Bishops' Bible, and where it is defective to use "Tyndale's, Matthew's, Coverdale's, Whitchurch's, Geneva." The Rheims version would—to the uninitiated reader—appear unknown or deliberately ignored, unless it were that the pre-eminent assistance it afforded in the formation of the Authorized Version was studiously concealed; a revolting alternative, yet the truth, and the *Preface* to the Revised Version of 1885 has a tardy and quite insufficient acknowledgement of this indebtedness:

"Their work shows evident traces of the influence of a version not specified in the rules, the Rhemish, made from the Latin Vulgate, but by scholars conversant with the Greek original."

As a matter of fact, the framers of the Authorized Version must have been familiar with Fulke's edition of the New Testament according to the Bishops' Bible and the Rheims in parallel columns; hence they must have known the particular features of Rheims. To what extent they were influenced by this translation has been the subject of a very minute study by Carleton,¹ whose conclusions may be briefly summarized as follows:

A. Changes for the Worse.—It is remarkable that in many instances where the distressing participial construction so characteristic of Rheims is repeated in the Authorized, this marks a departure from earlier English versions, e.g. "entering into" for "when they went in."² The same applies to certain excessively literal renderings, e.g. "sat there" for "continued there,"³ "debtors" for "sinners,"⁴ etc.

¹ *The Part of Rheims in the Making of the English Bible*, J. G. Carleton, D.D., Clarendon Press, 1902.

² Mark xvi. 5; cf. vii. 15, xiii. 26; also i. 10, x. 50, etc.

³ Acts xviii. 11; cf. xiii. 1, etc.

⁴ Mark xiii. 4.

B. *Improvements*.—(a) Certain Anglicized Latin words have passed over from Rheims to the Authorized, *e.g.* “derided” for “mocked,”¹ though it may well be that not all such are improvements. (b) Conversely, some very Latin forms have been eliminated under the influence of Rheims, thus “blessing” for “lauding.”² (c) Even some of the more modern forms in the Authorized are due to Rheims, *e.g.* “outside” for “utterside,”³ “afterwards” for “anon.”⁴ (d) The scholarship of the Rheims translators has left its mark on the Authorized in points where one would hardly expect it, *e.g.* in the strict rendering of the Greek article,⁵ in the precise translation of the tenses,⁶ though neither the Authorized nor Rheims are perfect in either of these points; also in doing justice to such enclitic particles as *δέ*.⁷

Carleton concludes :

“If one were to assess the degree of obligation due from the former [the Authorized] to the latter [Rheims], it might, I think, fairly be said, that while the translation of 1611, in its general framework and language, is essentially the daughter of the Bishops' Bible, which in its turn had inherited the nature and lineaments of the noble line of English versions issuing from the parent stock of Tyndale's, yet with respect to the distinctive touches which the Authorized New Testament has derived from the earlier translations, her debt to Roman Catholic Rheims is hardly inferior to her debt to Puritan Geneva.”⁸

And again :

“It is remarkable how often some familiar phrase, some well-known term in our English New Testament, proves on examination to have been suggested by the version of Rheims.”⁹

Enough has been said to show the part really due to our Catholic version in the formation of English Biblical translations. English Catholics have nothing to be ashamed of in their version, especially when they realize the conditions under which it was formed. What the days of the martyrs produced with such toil and hardship and at the cost of their lives, the penal days preserved with even greater

¹ Luke xvi. 14, xxiii. 35; Carleton, pp. 32-40.

² Luke xxiv. 53; *cf.* Gal. iv. 15, Luke xxii. 43, *loc. cit.* 41.

³ Matt. xxiii. 25.

⁴ Mark iv. 17, 29; *cf.* Apoc. xi. 14, *loc. cit.* 42-44.

⁵ *E.g.* Matt. xiii. 50, xiv. 30; Mark iv. 31, vi. 24, xii. 22-23; Rom. v. 8; Apoc. xiii. 11, xviii. 24, xx. 6.

⁶ Matt. xix. 8, xxvi. 38; Rom. xi. 7, 19; Apoc. iv. 16, xii. 9. For a good example see John iv. 43-54.

⁷ Mark xii. 29; Luke i. 6, xviii. 15; 1 Pet. iv. 17.

⁸ *Loc. cit.*, p. 31.

⁹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 72.

difficulty. It is hard to read with patience such sneers as the following :

"I have no information as to the number of copies printed" (he is speaking of the second edition of the *Douay Old Testament*, 1609). "I hope that it was *very* large ; for, strange as it may appear, no other edition was published in the English language for the space of a hundred and fifteen years ! During the remainder of this century—1635-1700—I find nothing done by Roman Catholics towards keeping up a supply of copies of the vernacular Scriptures for the people."¹

The excessive literalness of the translation and the very Latin expressions which disfigured the Rheims and Douay versions urged Dr. Challoner to revise the work. He himself published six editions of his revised text of the New Testament between 1749 and 1777.² But Challoner's revision was very drastic ; and while he rendered good and indeed necessary service, he undoubtedly weakened the nervous and forcible English of the original Elizabethan translators. Subsequent editors and revisers have made matters worse, so that there is now no such thing as the *Rheims version* left.

C. Chronological Lists.

A. CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF ANGLO-SAXON AND ENGLISH VERSIONS.

- c. 680. Cædmon's paraphrases.
- c. 700. Psalter by St. Aldhelm (?).
- d. 735. Ven. Bede.
- c. 900. King Alfred.
- c. 950. The Anglo-Saxon interlinear translation found in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, and apparently reproduced in the *Rushworth Gospels*.

¹ Henry Cotton, D.C.L., Archdeacon of Cashel : *Rhemes and Doway, an Attempt to show what has been done by Roman Catholics for the Diffusion of the Holy Scriptures in English*, Oxford University Press, 1855, p. 27 ; cf. p. 272 below.

² *Viz.* in 1749, 1750, 1752, 1764, 1772, and perhaps a sixth in 1777, according to Charles Butler, who speaks of this edition as the last printed during the author's lifetime. See Cotton, *Rhemes and Doway*, p. 50. The three early editions are rare, and anyone possessing them should treasure them. Challoner also revised the Old Testament, of which two editions were published by him in 1750 and 1763. Bishop Hay published the whole revised Bible in 1796, and this forms the basis of all subsequent editions.

c. 1020. The versions of Ælfric.¹

c. 1320. Psalter of William of Shoreham.

c. 1320. Psalter of Richard Rolle of Hampole, d. 1349.

Various Catholic versions of the whole Bible testified to by Blessed Thomas More, Cranmer, and Foxe (see above).

c. 1380. Wyclif (?), the Gospels (?).

c. 1382. Nicholas of Hereford (?), translation of the whole Bible down to Baruch iii. 20 (?); he is supposed to have assisted Wyclif.

c. 1388. John Purvey (?), a revision of the work of Wyclif (?) and Nicholas of Hereford (?).

1525. Tyndale, the first *printed* English New Testament.

1530. Tyndale, the *Pentateuch*, printed at Marburg.

1531. Tyndale, the *Book of Jonas*, printed at Antwerp (?).²

1535. Coverdale, the whole Bible from the Dutch and Latin; he depended much on the Vulgate, Luther, Tyndale, and the translation from the Hebrew by the Dominican Santes Pagninus. Twelve editions appeared between 1535 and 1539.

1537. Thomas Matthew, or John Rogers, the whole Bible; practically a re-edition of the work of Coverdale and Tyndale.³

1539. Taverner, a new edition of Matthew's Bible; eight editions from 1539-1551.

1539. The Great Bible. The full title is *The Bible in English, that is to saye the content of all the holye scripture, both of ye olde and newe testament, truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke textes, by ye dylygent studye of dyuerse excellent men expert in the forsayde tonges*. Seven editions appeared between 1539 and 1541;⁴ these, with the exception of the first, had a *Preface* by Cranmer, hence they are known as Cranmer's Bibles. The Old Testament was Coverdale's edition of 1535, corrected from Matthew's edition of 1537 and from Sebastian Munster's Latin translation; the New Testament was a combination of Tyndale's edition of 1534 and Coverdale's of 1535, with considerable assistance from the work of Erasmus. The whole was prepared under the auspices of Cromwell, who employed Coverdale as editor, sending him to Paris with Grafton, the printer, to see it through the press. Francis I. had, at the instance of Henry VIII., licensed the printing, but the work was stopped by an edict, the Englishmen fled, and many sheets were publicly burnt. The press, type, and workmen were, however, brought to England, and the task was completed in London. Great efforts were made to induce people to accept

¹ See Buckingham, *l.c.*, p. 44.

² Between 1525 and 1536 no less than thirty-three editions of portions of the Bible, as translated by or commented on by Tyndale, appeared; many of them, of course, were "pirated" copies. Eleven more editions or impressions appeared in 1548-49.

³ The whole Bible, or the New Testament alone, was reprinted some ten times between 1537 and 1551.

⁴ It was printed in whole or in part, *viz.* the New Testament only, twenty-seven times between 1539 and 1569. It was then displaced by the Bishops' Bible which, like Cranmer's Bible, had been ordered to be set up in churches.

this translation, which was forced into circulation by injunctions and penal laws. It is utterly false to suppose that men were craving for a vernacular Bible; as a matter of fact, the majority were bitterly hostile to it despite a royal proclamation, Cranmer's urgent appeals and Cromwell's order that copies should be placed in every church. These arbitrary proceedings were an absolute failure so far as popular circulation was concerned. In a few years Devon and Cornwall were in arms by thousands, and men were rising all over England in protest against efforts to force the Bible upon them.

It is of interest to note that the edition of 1541 is entitled *The Bible in Englyshe of the largest and greatest volume* [hence its title "Great"] *auctorysed and apoynted by the commaundemente of oure most redoubted Prynce and soueraygne Lord Kyng Henrye the VIII, supreme heade of this his churche and realme of Englande; to be frequented and used in euery churche win this his sayd realme, accordynge to the tenour of his former iniunctions geuen in that behalfe. Ouersene and perused at the commaundemente of the kynges hyghnes by Cuthbert [Tunstall], byshop of Duresme, and Nicolas [Heath], bisshop of Rochester.* Cromwell was by this time but a memory, and without question the edition of 1541 was a very different thing from that of 1539. The *English Hexapla* gives a passage from the *Supplication of the Poore Commons*, in which it is stated that Tunstall and Heath repudiated the alleged authorization by them (p. 32, note).

1557. Whittingham's New Testament produced at Geneva. This was, of course, a Puritan work.

1560. The whole Genevan Bible appeared in this year. It was translated from the Hebrew and Greek, and from its handy size and print speedily became very popular. The Old Testament was founded on that of Tyndale, the New on that already published by Whittingham, but both were revised.¹

1568. The "Bishops'" Bible was a set-off to the Genevan Bible, and was due to the activity of Archbishop Parker.²

1582. The Rheims New Testament.

1600. A second edition of the Rheims New Testament.

1609. The Douay Old Testament.

1611. The Royal Translation or King James' Bible, afterwards known as the Authorized Version. This version was

¹ This was the most popular of all Bibles, though never in any sense "authorized"; no less than seventy-seven editions of the entire Bible came out between 1560 and 1708, while seventeen editions of the New Testament separately appeared between 1560 and 1613. Sometimes this Bible was printed as many as four times in a single year. It played a chief part in the formation of the "Authorized" Bible.

² For a time this Bible held a predominant place, though it was never a real rival to the Genevan in popularity. Twenty-four editions of it appeared between 1568 and 1606. The New Testament was often printed up till 1619, by which time sixteen editions had appeared. Both the complete Bible, however, and the New Testament were quite superseded by the Authorized Version.

but the natural outcome of all the previous attempts at providing a worthy translation into English. King James took advantage of a petition presented to him by the Puritan clergy to call a conference at Hampton Court in 1604. The question of an improved translation of the Bible was mooted, and James at once appointed fifty-four “learned men” to perform the task. The king himself sent detailed “instructions” to the translators; some points in these are interesting:

1. The ordinary Bible read in the church, commonly called the Bishops’ Bible, to be followed, and as little altered as the original will permit.

2. The names of the prophets and the holy writers, with the other names in the text, to be retained, as near as may be, according as they are vulgarly used.

3. The old ecclesiastical words to be kept, as the word *church* not to be translated *congregation*.

14. These translations to be used when they agree better with the text than the Bishops’ Bible.

{ Tyndale’s,
Coverdale’s,
Matthew’s,
Whitchurch’s,
Geneva.

As a matter of fact, only forty-seven translators are enumerated; their names are given by Wood, *Annals of the University of Oxford*, I. The work seems to have occupied them from the end of the year 1604 to the autumn of 1609. The translation was then revised, and the printing proceeded till 1611 when the whole was published. As we have already remarked, the translators made much use of the Rheims version of the New Testament, though its use was not specified in the king’s “Instructions.”

B. CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE MOST IMPORTANT EDITIONS OF THE RHEIMS-DOUAY BIBLE AND OF OTHER ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS FROM 1582 TO 1851.

1582. New Testament, Rheims. 4to.

1600. A *second* edition of the same; some notes are added.¹

1609. The Old Testament; this was already completed when the New Testament appeared in 1582; since that time the Sixtine and

¹ This edition became the norm for subsequent editions.

Clementine editions of the Vulgate had appeared,¹ and the translators tell us in their *Preface* that they have adapted their rendering to the Clementine edition.

1621. A *third* edition of the Rheims New Testament. Antwerp, 16mo. It follows the edition of 1600.

1633. A *fourth* edition of the Rheims New Testament. It adheres to that of 1600.

1635. A *second* edition of the Old Testament. It only differs from the edition of 1609 in spelling.

1707-09. The four Gospels translated from Quesnel's *Moral Reflections on the Gospels*. This last work was condemned, because of its Jansenist teaching, by Clement XI. in 1708. The text is practically that of Rheims. Quesnel died in 1719.

1718. *The New Testament, newly translated out of the Latin Vulgate*. This version was by the Rev. Cornelius Nary, a priest of Dublin; it is very rare,² though re-edited in 1719.

1730. *The New Testament with Annotations*, by Dr. Witham, President of Douay. This was a fresh translation, and the whole was approved by Dr. Challoner. It reappeared in 1733 and 1740.

1738. A *fifth* edition of the Rheims New Testament, with all the Notes and the Preface; it follows the editions of 1600 and 1633, folio.

1749. First revision of Rheims New Testament by Dr. Challoner, 1691-1781.³

1750. Challoner's *second* edition of Rheims.

1750. Challoner's *first* revision of the Douay version of the Old Testament, 1609.

1752. Challoner's *third* revision of Rheims; it differs from his first revision in some two thousand places.

1763. Challoner's *second* revision of the Old Testament.

1764. Challoner's *fourth* revision of Rheims.

1772. Challoner's *fifth* revision of Rheims.

1777. Challoner's *sixth* revision of Rheims.⁴

1783. New Testament; a revision of Challoner's editions by the Rev. B. MacMahon. Few changes occur in the Gospels, but in the rest of the New Testament he departs much from Challoner's text. This edition came out with the approbation of Archbishop Carpenter, of Dublin.

1788. A so-called "sixth edition" of the Rheims New Testament, with the Preface and all the Notes, appeared at Liverpool in this year, and again in 1789. The text seems to be that of 1738, and the Notes are almost identical with the original Notes of 1582.

¹ See *Preface* to the Rheims translation of the New Testament, 1582.

² Nary tells us that he made his new translation because "the language [of Rheims and Douay] had become so old, the words so obsolete, the orthography so bad, and the translations so literal, that in a number of places it is unintelligible."

³ This is, curiously enough, the text followed in the cheap edition of the New Testament published by Burns Oates and Washbourne.

⁴ So Charles Butler. See Cotton, *Rhemes and Doway*, p. 50.

1791. The whole Bible, “the fifth edition, newly revised and corrected according to the Clementin edition.” This is MacMahon’s second revision, and was made with the sanction of Dr. Troy. Challoner’s text of the Old Testament remains practically unchanged, but there are some seven to eight hundred changes in his New Testament text, also many new Notes. This edition is of interest as being the first to which was prefixed a translation of the Brief of Pius VI. to Martini, who had translated the Bible into Italian, and in which the Pope commends the reading of the Bible in the vernacular.

1792. The New Testament, by an unknown author. 12mo.

1792. *The Holy Bible, or the Books accounted Sacred by Jews and Christians : otherwise called the Books of the Old and New Covenants : faithfully translated from corrected texts of the Originals. With various readings, Explanatory notes, and Critical remarks. By the Rev. Alexander Geddes, LL.D., London. Vol. I., The Text, Genesis to Joshua.*

Alexander Geddes (1737-1801) was born before his time; a profound scholar and critic, he disregarded all authority and went his own way. The loss to the Church was grave, for he was thoroughly equipped for the work he undertook, that of translating the entire Bible from the original Hebrew and Greek. His was the spirit of the Cisalpine Club at its worst. Thus he remarks upon the Notes in the original Rheims version that they are “virulent Annotations against the Protestant Religion, and manifestly calculated to support a system, not of genuine Catholicity, but of transalpine Popery” (*Address to the Public*, 1793). He was a priest in Scotland, but owing to his attending at some of the ministrations of a clergyman of the Scotch Church Bishop Hay suspended him in 1779. He thereupon came to London, where he became a friend of Bishop Lowth who encouraged him to bring out his *Prospectus* of his contemplated fresh translation in 1780, and a *Supplement* to the same in 1787. In this latter he actually appealed to the Bishop of London and Biblical scholars in general to support him by answering “Queries, Doubts, and Difficulties relative to a vernacular version of the Holy Scriptures.”

In the *Prospectus* he shows that he is well acquainted with previous Catholic work, and refers to Nary’s and Witham’s translations, also to Challoner’s editions, as well as to a fresh translation of the New Testament by Robert Gordon, the Rector of the Scotch College, Rome, which Geddes had in MS. His first volume came out in 1792; it had no episcopal authorization, and in the same year, 1792, three Vicars

Apostolic—Drs. Walmesley, Douglass, and Gibson—forbade Catholics to read his translation. Geddes answered this in 1794. Three years later, in 1797, he produced his second volume, giving the translation from *Judges* to *Kings*, *Chronicles*, and *Ruth*. In 1800 he published his critical notes on the text, and in 1801 appeared his translation of the *Psalms* down to Ps. cxviii., when he died.

Geddes tells us that his purpose in translating afresh was “to give a tolerable and, if I could, a creditable version of the Holy Bible, for the use of the English Catholics”; he complains bitterly of the existing translations and the neglect of the Bible amongst his co-religionists. He had at first intended to make Challoner’s emended text his basis, then he thought he would translate afresh from the Vulgate, but finally decided to go straight to the original texts. The principles which dominated him may be gauged by the following :

“The Gospel of Jesus is my religious code : his doctrines are my dearest delight : ‘his yoke (to me) is easy, and his burden is light.’ But this yoke I would not put on : these doctrines I could not admire : that Gospel I would not make my law : if Reason, pure Reason, were not my prompter and preceptress Christian is my name, and Catholic my surname.’

1794. The whole Bible, a “sixth” edition. Dr. Troy.

1796-97. Challoner’s Bible, with a few changes, with the approbation of Bishop Hay of Edinburgh. Five vols., 12mo. This was published again, 1805, 1808, 1811.

1803. The Rheims New Testament, a “seventh” edition ; MacMahon’s second edition for Dr. Troy.

1805. MacMahon’s “fifth” edition was republished in Philadelphia as “the first American from the fifth Dublin edition.”

1810. The Rheims New Testament, the “eighth” edition ; MacMahon’s third edition for Dr. Troy ; this reappeared in the same year, 1810.

1811. *Haydock’s Bible* was planned by Thomas Haydock a school-master and printer of Manchester, and the work was actually carried out by his brother, the Rev. George Haydock, born in 1774, and brought up at Old Hall and Ushaw. The text is that of Challoner ; the notes were based upon the Rheims annotators, on Calmet, Estius, Tirinus, etc. This very popular Bible was republished in 1812, 1822-24 (with abridged notes), 1847-48, 1853.

1812. The New Testament, edited by the Rev. John Worswick, a priest, of Newcastle-on-Tyne. The editor evidently intended to produce a very free revision of Challoner’s text, for there are several

hundred corrections up to Rom. iii.; but after that point he adheres to Challoner's edition of 1752.

1813. The whole Bible in Challoner's text, but with Dr. Witham's notes.

1815. *The New Testament translated out of the Latin Vulgate, and diligently compared with the Original Greek. Stereotyped from the edition published by authority in 1749.* This edition was issued by the Roman Catholic Bible Society,¹ and was re-edited in 1818 by the Rev. H. Horrabin, and several times later.

1816. The whole Bible. In the Old Testament the text is that of Dr. Challoner; in the New Testament the text appears to be that of the edition of 1788, but all the notes in the Rheims first edition of 1582 were given, as well as the *Preface*, with the approbation of Dr. Troy.²

1820. The New Testament, without notes or marginal references.³

1834. New Testament, a reprint of the first edition of 1582. New York.⁴

¹ In the year 1813 appeared a *Prospectus* entitled "The Catholic Fund, established for the sole purpose of printing the Rhemish version of the New Testament, and dispersing it gratuitously, or at a low price, among the Roman Catholics in the United Kingdom." The committee included Dr. Poynter, Lord Clifford, Sir John Throckmorton, and others. At its fourth meeting, March 27, 1813, it was agreed "That a Society be formed from among the Roman Catholics of Great Britain for the purpose of facilitating the distribution of the Holy Scriptures, and particularly the New Testament, amongst the poor of the Catholic Communion; and that the same be denominated 'The Roman Catholic Bible Society.'" The committee was speedily divided over the question whether or not the New Testament should be published with notes. Bishop Poynter insisted on them; Charles Butler thought they might profitably be omitted. A compromise was arrived at: "All such notes as are offensive to the just feelings of our Christian brethren be omitted." Finally, stereotyped sheets were prepared, giving the text of Challoner as preserved in the edition of 1804; but the edition actually published in two sizes, 12mo and 8vo, gave Challoner's text and notes of 1749. There is, however, no distinction of verses. Naturally enough Dr. Milner fell foul of the project and declared that precisely those notes which rendered the "Testament safe in the hands of the ignorant" had been omitted!

² According to Cotton (*Rhemes and Doway*, p. 112), Dr. Troy repudiated the statement of Coyne, the printer, that he had given his approbation.

³ This has the approbation of Dr. Troy who, however, regards it as conformable to the edition of 1791, whereas, according to Cotton (*loc. cit.*, p. 120) it reproduces Challoner's edition of 1750. The edition is really an echo of the *Roman Catholic Bible Society* of 1813, which was apparently succeeded by a society formed at a meeting on December 22, 1819, which decided "That a Society be now constituted, the object of which shall be the Circulation of the Roman Catholic Version of the New Testament, without Note or Comment."

⁴ This was published by a Protestant society as being the best mode

1836. *A New Version of the Four Gospels, by a Catholic.* This new version was by Dr. Lingard, and was republished in 1851.¹

1840. The New Testament, with the approbation of Dr. Kenrick, Philadelphia.

1841. *The English Hexapla, exhibiting the Six Important English Translations of the New Testament Scriptures :*

Wiclif, 1380.

Genevan, 1557.

Tyndale, 1534.

Anglo-Rhemish, 1582.

Cranmer, 1539.

Authorized, 1611.²

1849. *The Four Gospels, translated from the Latin Vulgate, and diligently compared with the Original Greek Text, being a revision of the Rhemish translation, with notes critical and explanatory.* By Francis Patrick Kenrick, Bishop of Philadelphia. New York.

1851. *The Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse, by Bishop Kenrick.* New York.

1859. *The Book of Job and the Prophets, translated, with Notes.* F. P. Kenrick, Baltimore.

1861. *The Historical Books of the Old Testament, translated, with Notes.* F. P. Kenrick, Baltimore.

1872. *The Vulgate New Testament with the Douay Version of 1852 in Parallel Columns.* Bagsters.³

1881. The Revised Version of the New Testament.

1885. The Revised Version of the Old Testament.

1913. *The Westminster Version of the Sacred Scriptures: A New Translation from the Original Greek and Hebrew Texts.* Nearly all the New Testament has appeared (1926).

of countering the advances of Catholicism in the United States: "The American people, and particularly the Churches of Christ in the United States, until recently have displayed a morbid incredulity in reference to the Papal system, and an almost settled determination not to be convinced of the 'damnable heresies' and soul-killing abominations of Popery. To extirpate this deadly distemper, it is indispensable to administer a strong and plenteous surfeit, which shall excite an irresistible necessity for both the counteracting antidote and the healthful restorative."

¹ See Wiseman, *Catholic Versions of the Scripture*, D.R., April, 1837, a review of this translation, republished in his *Essays on Various Subjects*. Wiseman clearly did not know the identity of the author.

² This is a most valuable edition, and has an interesting *Introduction*; but the indication of the versions presented is misleading, as instead of the genuine Genevan New Testament of 1560, that made at Geneva by Whittingham in 1557 is printed. Moreover the Bishops' Bible, which was the principal authority for the Authorized Version, should have found a place (see Carleton, *Rheims*, p. iii).

³ This is a very useful edition, and though long out of print can be had cheaply second-hand. The original Rheims *Preface* and *Notes* are of course omitted. The Vulgate text here given is not the Clementine, for it has *suspiciens* for *suscipiens* in Luke x. 30, as the Sixtine has; at the same time it has not other characteristically Sixtine readings e.g. *duo in lecto* in Matt. xxiv. 41.

In the above list we have given merely the outstanding editions of the Bible. We have based ourselves mainly on the works of Dr. Cotton.¹ But it must be remembered that, despite his scholarship, Dr. Cotton was most strongly anti-Catholic. His one object is to prove that the English and Irish Catholics have done little or nothing to provide their flocks with copies of the Scriptures. He repeatedly draws attention to the long gaps between editions and the bulky form and high price at which they appeared, or, as Cardinal Newman phrases it :

“He has made it [his book] the vehicle of so much incidental insinuation, sometimes unfair, sometimes ignorant, always ill-natured, to the disadvantage of Catholic ecclesiastics, that we are unable to regard him with that unmixed respect, and to use him with that ready and unfaltering confidence, which would be natural in those who, like ourselves, have long known his claims, both as a gentleman and a scholar, on public estimation.”²

Dr. Cotton is completely oblivious of the real meaning of the penal times; he forgets the disabilities under which Catholics lived. He has drawn up with incredible labour lists of all the editions of the Bible which have appeared between 1582 and 1854, and his whole tone is one of disparagement; yet no Catholic can study that list—even in the abbreviated form in which we have presented it—without feeling a glow of pride in the amazing work accomplished by our forefathers in providing copies of the Bible for their people. During the period indicated seventy editions—or at least reimpressions—of the New Testament appeared, four of the Old Testament alone, forty-one of the entire Bible. We find bishop after bishop giving his approbation to fresh editions, whether of the New Testament alone or of the entire Bible. At least five of these bear the *imprimatur* of Dr. Murray, three that of Dr. Crolly, fifteen that of Dr. Denvir.

¹ *Rhemes and Doway. An Attempt to show what has been done by Roman Catholics for the Diffusion of the Holy Scriptures in English*, Oxford, 1855. Also *Editions of the Bible and Parts thereof in English from the Year 1505 to 1850*. Oxford, 1852, 2nd ed.

² *History of the Text of the Rheims and Douay Version of the Holy Scripture*, in the *Rambler* for July, 1859, and reprinted in *Tracts Theological and Ecclesiastical*, pp. 405-445.

We append a chronological list of the principal early versions of the Old Testament:

1. The Septuagint Greek version, begun in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, 286-246 B.C.
2. The Old-Latin, in the early part of the second century A.D.
3. The Syriac, probably about the same time as the Old-Latin.
4. The Greek version by Aquila, about A.D. 130.
5. The Greek version by Theodotion, about A.D. 130.
6. The Greek version by Symmachus, about A.D. 180.
7. The Coptic versions, Bohairic or Memphitic, Sahidic or Thebaic, perhaps before the close of the second century A.D., though some would assign them to a later date.
8. St. Jerome's Vulgate, c. A.D. 390-404.
9. The Gothic version by Ulfilas, attributed to the year A.D. 381.
10. The Ethiopic version, fourth to fifth century.
11. The Armenian version, about A.D. 400.
12. The Georgian version, fifth to sixth century.
13. The Arabic version, about the tenth century.

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CHAPTER X

THE HEBREW YEAR

- I. Divisions of Time.
- II. Feasts and Fasts.
- III. The Calendar.

I. Divisions of Time.

The week of seven days seems always to have been in use.¹ The seventh day, which received peculiar sanction at the outset,² was called the Sabbath, or Day of Rest. "The sundial of Achaz"³ shows that the Hebrews had definite means of measuring the lapse of time during the day. The night was divided into "watches"; thus we read of "the beginning of the midnight watch,"⁴ "in the beginning of the watches"⁵ (that is, from sunset to 10.0), "from the morning watch."⁶ The actual day was reckoned from evening to evening,⁷ as in ecclesiastical time to this day.

But the different portions of the day were, at least in ordinary parlance, indicated by such expressions as "in the evening . . . and in the morning," **וּבֶפְקֶר הָעֶרְבַּיִם**,⁸ where the Hebrew dual may perhaps signify "between sunset and dark," though various explanations are offered; "till the day decline," **עַד נָטוּת הַיּוֹם**;⁹ "the day being now well spent," "inclinata jam die," "eventide" (R.V.), **לְפִנּוּת עֶרֶב**,

¹ Gen. ii. 8, viii. 10, xxix. 27, etc.

² *Ibid.* ii. 1-3.

³ 4 Kings xx. 11. For a very interesting portable sundial from Gezer see *P.E.F.*, April, 1923, pp. 85-89.

⁴ Judg. vii. 19, Exod. xiv. 24, 1 Sam. xi. 11.

⁵ Lam. ii. 19.

⁶ Ps. cxxix.

⁷ Lev. xxiii. 32.

⁸ Exod. xvi. 12.

⁹ Judg. xix. 8.

literally "at the turning of the evening";¹ "at the afternoon air," "in the cool of the day" (R.V.), לְרֵיחַ הַיּוֹם;² "and when the dawn came," הַשָּׁחַר צָלָה;³ "at break of day," לְאֹר.⁴ All these expressions show that, while the months were reckoned by the moon, the sun, as was inevitable, governed the day. The seasons were also roughly divided on agricultural lines; thus "the early and the latter rain," יוֹרֵה וּמְלֻקֵּשׁ,⁵ referred to the spring showers of March and April, viz. the "latter" rains, and the heavy rains or "early" rains from the close of October to the beginning of December. That the calendar was mainly constructed on the basis of a lunar month is clear from many passages;⁶ the first day of the month was a "solemnity."⁷ But the year of lunar months had obvious disadvantages since it necessitated the insertion of an intercalary or extra month, to which, however, there is no clear reference in the Bible;⁸ moreover, had the lunar month been rigidly adhered to, the Passover would, it is calculated, have in the course of some thirty-four years occurred in every single month of the year! Thus, while the economic year ended in autumn, "the feast in the end of the year when thou hast gathered in all thy corn,"⁹ we find the spring-time given as "the return of the year, at the time when kings go forth to war,"¹⁰ while the ritual year also opened with Nisan or Abib.¹¹

Of peculiar interest in this respect is the calendar discovered at Gezer by Macalister in 1908. It is cut on limestone, is very small—only a handbreadth—was apparently made to hang up, and seems to have been rewritten more than once. The text reads, according to Lidzbarski who, however, only had photographs:

1. Month of the fruit-harvest.—Month of
2. the sowing.—Month of the after-grass.
3. Month of the flax-harvest.
4. Month of the barley-harvest.
5. Month of the harvest of all (the rest).
6. Month of the pruning of vine-plants.
7. Month of the fig-harvest (?).

But according to Père Vincent, who had access to the original:

- ¹ Gen. xxiv. 63, Deut. xxiii. 12. ² Gen. iii. 8.
- ³ Gen. xix. 15. ⁴ Job xxiv. 14; see especially Jer. vi. 4.
- ⁵ Deut. xi. 14, Jer. iii. 3, v. 24, Osee vi. 3, Zach. x. 1, Job xxix. 23, Prov. xvi. 15.
- ⁶ Gen. vii. 11, viii. 14.
- ⁷ Num. xxviii. 11, 1 Sam. xx. 5-6, 18, 29, 4 Kings iv. 24, etc.
- ⁸ 3 Kings iv. 7, ix. 7. ⁹ Exod. xxiii. 16, xxxiv. 22.
- ¹⁰ 2 Sam. xi. 1, cf. 3 Kings xx. 22, 26, 2 Paral. xxxvi. 10.
- ¹¹ Exod. xxiii. 16, xxxiv. 22.

1. Two months : late harvest. Two months : (September 15 to November 15.)
2. Sowings. Two months : spring growth. (November 15 to January 15.)
3. One month : flax-harvest. (January 15 to March 15.)
4. One month : barley-harvest. (April 15 to May 15.)
5. One month : general harvest. (May 15 to June 15.)
6. Two months : particular fruits. Vintage. (June 15 to August 15.)
7. One month : summer fruits (figs) ? (August 15 to September 15.)¹

There never seems to have been any definite Hebrew era such as we find for the Seleucidans,² for Tyre,³ Sidon,⁴ and Bosra;⁵ but certain outstanding events in Hebrew history are sometimes referred to as landmarks, *e.g.* the Exodus,⁶ the building of the temple,⁷ the Exile,⁸ also a great earthquake.⁹ According to Rabbinical reckoning, the Christian era began in the year of the world, *anno mundi*, 3760, so that the present year, 1926, is A.M. 5687, though, according to the chronological system of Archbishop Ussher, which makes the Christian era begin in A.M. 4004, the present year would be A.M. 5929.

II. Feasts and Fasts.

The agricultural seasons divided the year and were marked by the three great feasts of Passover, Weeks or Pentecost, and Tabernacles. The Passover coincided with the date of the Exodus¹⁰ and the beginning of the barley harvest. As the hasty departure of the Hebrews at the Exodus had compelled them to use unleavened bread,¹¹ the Jews always abstained from the use of leaven, or yeast, during the week of the Passover, hence the name “Azymes”

¹ See *P.E.F.*, January to July, 1909, for the views of various epigraphists; *R.B.*, April, 1909, pp. 243-269, for Vincent's study; for the epigraphical problem see the forthcoming volume.

² Often referred to in *Maccabees*, *e.g.* 1 Macc. xiii. 41; Josephus, *Ant.* XIII. vi. 7; *Wars*, I. ii. 2.

³ The era of Tyre apparently began in 275 B.C., after its capture by Ptolemy Philadelphus; *cf.* Cooke, *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 47.

⁴ Sidon seems to have become autonomous in III B.C.; *cf.* Cooke, *loc. cit.*, inscription 33.

⁵ The era of Bosra dates from A.D. 105; see *American Archaeological Expedition to Syria*, vol. iv., p. 113.

⁶ 3 Kings vi. 1; *cf.* Exod. xix. 1, Num. xxxiii. 38.

⁷ 3 Kings ix. 10.

⁸ Ezech. xxxiii. 21, xl. 1.

⁹ Amos i. 1.

¹⁰ Exod. xii. 1-14, xiii. 1-5, Lev. xiii. 5, Num. xxviii. 16, Deut. xvi. 1-9.

¹¹ Exod. xii. 15-20, xiii. 6-10; for the term “Azymes” *cf.* *Ant.* IX. xiii. 2.

at a later period. At the Passover the first sheaf of new barley was offered to the Lord, and fifty days reckoned from the day following brought the feast of Pentecost, *i.e.* fifty days, or seven weeks.¹ The feast of Tabernacles was associated with the years of wandering in the desert;² it opened on the fifteenth day of Tisri, the seventh month, and marked the ingathering of the fruit harvest.³ Historical observances of the Passover⁴ and of Tabernacles⁵ are mentioned in the Bible, but not of Pentecost.⁶

Other feasts were: Purim,⁷ on the 14th and 15th of Adar; Trumpets, on the 1st of Tisri;⁸ the feast of the Re-dedication of the Temple (this was held on the 25th of Casleu, and dated from the purification of the temple after its desecration by Antiochus Epiphanes).⁹ The number seven was the governing principle in the relation of these feasts to one another in point of time; it finds fuller expression in the Sabbatical year;¹⁰ at Tabernacles of that year the law was solemnly read to the people; the Year of Jubilee opened on the Day of Expiation in the forty-ninth year, and continued till the same day in the following year.¹¹

¹ Lev. xxiii. 10-21, Num. xxviii. 26-31, Deut. xvi. 10-12. For the celebration of the Passover at Elephantine, *c.* 440 (?) B.C., see an Aramaic ostrakon, *P.S.B.A.*, November, 1911, November, 1915, p. 222.

² Lev. xxiii. 43.

³ Num. xxix. 12-38, Deut. xvi. 13-15.

⁴ Exod. xii., Num. ix., Jos. v., 2 Paral. xxx. and xxxv.; *cf.* *Ant.* X. iv. 5, XIV. ii. 1, XVII. ii. 2.

⁵ 3 Kings viii. 2, 2 Paral. v. 3, vii. 8, Neh. viii. 14, Zach. xiv. 16-19; *cf.* *Ant.* XIII. viii. 2, xi. 1, XV. iii. 3.

⁶ But constantly in Josephus, *Ant.* XIII. viii. 4, XIV. xiii. 4, XVII. x. 2, *Wars*, I. xiii. 3.

⁷ Esth. iii. 7, ix. 24, 26, 28, xi. 1.

⁸ Lev. xxiii. 23-25, Num. xxix. 1-6; for the trumpets see *Ant.* III. xii. 6.

⁹ 1 Macc. iv. 52-60; *Ant.* XII. vii. 7.

¹⁰ Lev. xxv. 2-7, Deut. xv. 1-11; *cf.* xxxi. 10, *Ant.* XIII. xiii. 1, XIV. x. 6.

¹¹ Lev. xxv. 8-33; *cf.* *Ant.* III. xiii. 3. See *P.E.F.*, January, 1918, *Ancient Landownership and the Jubilee Year*. The legislation for these feasts has been much exploited by critics of the Gräf-Wellhausen school, but see W. H. Green, *The Hebrew Feasts in their Relation to Recent Critical Hypothesis*, 1886.

III. The Calendar.

1. ABIB.	March-April. The "latter rains," Deut. xi. 14; the Jordan is in flood, Jos. iii. 15. 14th Nisan, the Pasch was held. 16th, the offering of the sheaf. 15th-21st, the Days of Azymes.	Abib is the Canaanite name for the first month of the sacred year. Outside the Book of Exodus it is called by its Babylonian name of <i>Nisan</i> ; in 2 Macc. xi. 30 it is spoken of under the Macedonian name of <i>Xanthicus</i> ; cf. <i>Ant.</i> I. iii. 3.
2. ZIV. 3 Kings vi. 1, 37.	April-May. No rain till Ethanim, the seventh month. The barley harvest is general. The second Pasch, for those who were prevented from keeping it in Nisan, is observed.	Ziv is a Canaanite name; the later Babylonian equivalent was <i>Iyyar</i> , not mentioned in the Bible, but cf. <i>Ant.</i> VIII. iii. 1, where its Macedonian name is given as <i>Artemisios</i> , and its Hebrew name as <i>Iur</i> . It is generally spoken of as "the second month."
3. SIVAN. Esth. viii. 9, Bar. i. 8.	May-June. The feast of Weeks, or Pentecost. The first-fruits of the wheat harvest.	Babylonian <i>Sivannu</i> ; cf. <i>R.P.</i> xi. 20.
4. TAMMUZ.	June-July.	
5. AB.	July-August.	The Macedonian <i>Lous</i> and the Athenian <i>Hecatombæon</i> .
6. ELUL. Neh. vi. 15, 1 Macc. xiv. 27.	August-September.	"The sixth month." Agg. i. 1, ii. 1.
7. ETHANIM. 3 Kings viii. 2.	September-October. "Early" rains begin, also frost, Gen. xxxi. 40. 1st of Ethanim, the feast of Trumpets, <i>i.e.</i> the New Year. 10th, Day of Atonement. 15th-21st, feast of Tabernacles.	Ethanim is a Canaanite name; its Babylonian equivalent was <i>Tisri</i> , a name used later by the Jews, though not found in the Bible. For both Jews and Babylonians it marked the commencement of the civil year; the Macedonian <i>Hyperberetaus</i> , <i>Ant.</i> VIII. iv. 1.

THE CALENDAR—Continued.

8. BUL. 3 Kings vi. 38.	October-November.	Bul is a Canaanite name, the Babylonian equivalent being <i>Marchesvan</i> , as written in Hebrew characters, but really <i>Arach-samma</i> , the Macedonian <i>Dius</i> , <i>Ant. I. iii. 3.</i>
9. CASLEU. Zach. vii. i, Neh. i. i.	November-December. Winter begins, John x. 22. The 25th Casleu marks the feast of the Rededication of the Temple by Judas Maccabeus after its defilement by Antiochus Epiphanes, 1 Macc. iv. 52.	The Macedonian <i>Apellus</i> , <i>Ant. XII. v. 4, vii. 6.</i>
10. TEBHET. Esth. ii. 16.	December-January.	The Macedonian <i>Appelleus</i> , <i>Ant. XI. v. 4;</i> <i>Thebet</i> in Assyrian; cf. <i>R.P. xi. 54.</i>
11. SEBET. Zach. i. 7, 1 Macc. xvi. 14.	January-February.	
12. ADAR. Esdras vi. 15, 1 Macc. vii. 43, and often in Esther.	February-March. 14th Adar marked the feast of Purim.	The Macedonian <i>Dystrus</i> , <i>Ant. IV. viii. 49.</i>

CHAPTER XI

THE PRIESTHOOD AND THE SACRIFICES

- I. The Levitical Priesthood.
 - II. The Sacrifices.
 - III. Bibliography.
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I. The Levitical Priesthood.

The origin of the priesthood is lost in the mists of antiquity; the earliest history of every nation betrays its presence. In the Bible itself Melchisedec appears as "priest of the Most High God" at Salem,¹ Potiphar as priest in Heliopolis,² and Jethro as priest in Madian.³ Among the early Hebrews, too, there are traces of a priesthood which would seem, however, to have pertained to the first-born sons rather than to any caste. That God dwelt among them and could be consulted appears from the case of Rebecca who went to "consult the Lord";⁴ we may even have a hint of priestly garments in the vesture of Esau with which Rebecca clothed Jacob.⁵ Abraham offers sacrifice,⁶ so do the elders of Israel before the Exodus,⁷ though just before the giving of the law "priests and people" are carefully distinguished.⁸ Previous to the reading of the "Book of the Covenant" Moses bids the young men sacrifice.⁹ So far there is no hint of a priestly race or tribe. In the blessing of Jacob¹⁰ no suggestion of Levi's exaltation is made, though the fact that Aaron is spoken of as "the Levite" previous to the Exodus—while both he and his brother Moses were, of course, equally

¹ Gen. xiv. 18. ² Gen. xli. 45, 50. ³ Exod. ii. 16, iii. 2, xviii. 1.

⁴ Gen. xxv. 22.

⁵ Gen. xxviii. 15-17, where note the LXX: *τὴν στολὴν . . . τὴν καλὴν*.

⁶ Gen. xvii., etc.

⁷ Exod. xii. 6, 21.

⁸ Exod. xix. 22-24.

⁹ Exod. xxiv. 5.

¹⁰ Gen. xlix. 5-7.

descendants of Levi—is significant.¹ But after the giving of the law Moses is directed to consecrate Aaron and his sons as priests;² and when on the occasion of the worship of the golden calf the children of Levi in general ranged themselves on the side of Moses, he promises them a special blessing for this;³ its realization was seen at the first numbering of the people in the opening of the second year after the Exodus, when the Levites were expressly not numbered, but dedicated to the service of the tabernacle; later they are numbered,⁴ and are expressly designated by God as His ministers in place of the first-born who should, in return for the “passing-over” of the Israelite first-born in Egypt, have been consecrated to God.⁵ The Levites are described as “a gift to Aaron and his sons” who alone are to be “over the service of priesthood.”⁶ This distinction of the offices of priests and Levites is adhered to throughout the subsequent history;⁷ the tribe of Levi as a whole was dedicated to the service of the tabernacle, those who—in addition to being Levites were sons of Aaron—were priests; the Levites were to be a race apart,⁸ and cities and districts for their maintenance were provided.⁹ It was only natural that this distinction should breed discontent. In the desert itself we find the Levites rebelling against the exclusive priesthood of the sons of Aaron; while the Reubenites, as the first-born of Jacob, rebel against the loss of the priesthood that had been theirs by primogeniture.¹⁰

So radical a change as all this implied could not have been rigidly carried out at once. During the wanderings, under the actual supervision of Moses and Aaron, it may well have been so, but during the unsettled state of the country, which lasted until long after the monarchy was established, we must expect to find many abuses. Thus, in *Judges*¹¹ we have a story of a wandering Levite out of whose doings much capital has been made by a certain

¹ Exod. iv. 14.

² Exod. xxviii-xxix.

³ Exod. xxxii. 26-29.

⁴ Num. i. 49-50.

⁵ Num. iii.

⁶ Num. iii. 9-10.

⁷ Num. xviii. 2-4; Deut. xviii. 1, xvii. 9, xviii. 1, xxxi. 9, 25, xxxiii. 8-11, Jos. xiii. 14, Jer. xxxiii. 17, etc.

⁸ Deut. xxxiii. 8-11.

⁹ Jos. xxi.

¹¹ Judg. xvii-xviii.

¹⁰ Num. xvi-xvii.

type of critics, yet, as even the author of *Judges* remarks, it was wholly characteristic of the times.¹ It must be remembered, too, that sacrifice was in many instances a domestic act which pertained to the head of the family;² for the nomads “all slaughter is sacrificial.” This may explain in part the sacrifice offered by Gideon a Manassite,³ by Manoe a Danite,⁴ by the sons of Aminadab who ministered at the Ark when at their father’s house.⁵ Samuel was apparently an Ephraimite,⁶ yet he offered sacrifice,⁷ and would seem to have been called to the priesthood, if we are to judge by the ephod he wore;⁸ still it is nowhere expressly stated that he was a priest,⁹ though the chronicler makes him a Levite.¹⁰ The unsettled state of things may explain his action; so, too, in the case of Elias.¹¹ But a more difficult problem is presented by the case of kings like David and Solomon who seem to have personally conducted the sacrifices,¹² and who certainly blessed the people¹³ without any adverse comment being made. But the line of demarcation in practice must have been very faint at that early stage, else we should not find the sons of David termed “priests,” כֹּהֲנִים,¹⁴ nor Zabud the son of Nathan called a “priest.”¹⁵ When at a later period Azarias attempted to arrogate to himself the right to offer incense the priesthood indignantly resented his intrusion, and he was struck with leprosy.¹⁶

¹ Judg. xvii. 6, xviii. 1, 31.

² Exod. xx. 24-26, Deut. xii. 13-16, xvi. 5.

³ Judg. vi. 26.

⁴ Judg. xiii. 19.

⁵ 1 Sam. vii. 1, 2 Sam. vi. 3.

⁶ 1 Sam. i. 1.

⁷ 1 Sam. vii. 9.

⁸ 1 Sam. ii. 18-19.

⁹ Rather is he known as the Seer, 1 Sam. iii. 20, ix. 6-9; *Ant.* X. iv. 5; and note how carefully the Psalmist expresses it: “Moses and Aaron among His priests, and Samuel among them that call upon His name,” Ps. xcix. (H.) 6; *cp.* Jer. xv. 1.

¹⁰ 1 Paral. vi. 28, though this is somewhat doubtful.

¹¹ 3 Kings xviii.

¹² 2 Sam. vi. 17-18; David wore the ephod on this occasion, vi. 14;

¹³ 3 Kings ix. 25, where note that Solomon actually offered incense.

¹⁴ 3 Kings viii. 55.

¹⁵ 2 Sam. viii. 18, where the Vulgate has “sacerdotes,” but the LXX δολάρχαι; the Douay has rightly rendered this by “princes,” in accordance with the parallel in *Chronicles*, “the sons of David were chief about the king.”

¹⁶ 3 Kings iv. 5.

¹⁷ 2 Paral. xxvi. 17-21. The Levites obtained from Agrippa II. the right to wear the priestly linen ephod (*Ant.* XX. ix. 6).

The High Priests were, of course, of the stock of Aaron. Josephus often enumerates them: first those of the house of Ithamar,¹ then those of the line of Eleazar;² finally, he gives a list of the whole series, from Aaron to the fall of Jerusalem under Titus. He divides the long list of eighty-three High Priests into six periods:

(a) From the wilderness to Solomon's temple thirteen priests during six hundred and twelve years; this gives an average of over forty-eight years each!

(b) From Solomon to the Captivity in 586 B.C., eighteen priests in four hundred and sixty-six years, six months, ten days, or about thirty years for each.

(c) From the Restoration to Antiochus Eupator fifteen priests in four hundred and fourteen years, or twenty years apiece.

(d) There then followed the intrusion of Alcimus in place of Onias. Alcimus was of the stock of Aaron, but not of Onias; he filled the office for three years, and then there was a vacancy for seven years. Onias, a nephew of the preceding Onias, fled to Egypt, where he set up at Heliopolis a temple in imitation of that at Jerusalem.³

(e) There then followed the Hasmonean High Priests, or the Maccabees. Jonathan⁴ and Simon were both High Priests. Hyrcanus, son of Simon, held the office for thirty years, and was succeeded by Judas (Aristobulus) "who for a year kept the priesthood together with the royal authority, for this Judas was the first to put the diadem on his head." His brother Alexander succeeded him, and was "both king and High Priest twenty-seven years." His wife Alexandra assumed the royal authority but left the priesthood to her son Hyrcanus who, after being forcibly displaced by his brother Aristobulus, was reinstated by Pompey and reigned, though without the kingly diadem, for thirty-three years. There were in all eight Hasmonean High Priests in one hundred and twelve years.

(f) When Herod came to the throne, he chose High Priests at his whim and from all ranks; Archelaus imitated him, and the Romans followed suit; so that from the advent of Herod to Titus' capture of the city in A.D. 70, twenty-eight High Priests reigned in one hundred and seven years.⁵

At some early period the high priesthood appears to have passed from the line of Eleazar to that of Ithamar. Josephus tells us that this change took place when Eli succeeded Ozi of the line of Ithamar.⁶ The line of Eli continued

¹ *Ant.* V. xi. 5. ² *Ibid.* VIII. i. 3; cf. X. viii. 6.

³ *Ant.* XII. ix. 7, XIII. iii.

⁴ *Ant.* XIII. ii. 2-3.

⁵ *Ant.* XX. x. For the list from the Babylonian Ananelus whom Herod the Great intruded into the office (*Ant.* XV. ii. 4), see Whiston's *Josephus*, note on *Ant.* XX. viii. 5.

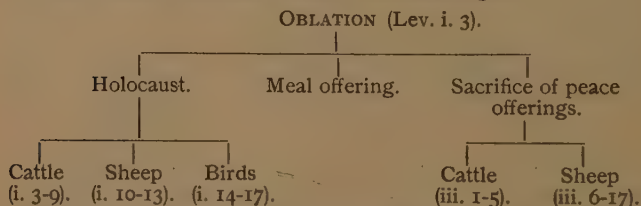
⁶ *Ant.* V. xi. 5, 1 Paral. vi. 3-5, 50-52.

throughout the reigns of Saul and David, but in the rebellion of Adonias Abiathar of Eli's line took part with him and consequently was exiled by Solomon.¹ But previous to this it is clear that both lines were represented at the same time, for we read repeatedly of Sadoc and Abiathar, the priests who in particular supported David in Absalom's rebellion.² Among High Priests who played a notable part in subsequent Hebrew history we may instance Joiada,³ Zacharias,⁴ Helcias,⁵ Simon the Just,⁶ and Onias III.⁷

That there was, quite apart from the "twenty-four courses" of priests, a certain order among them is evident from such expressions as "the first priest . . . and the second priest," בָּהֶן הָרִאשׁוֹן . . . בָּהֶן הַשֵּׁנִי (LXX) δευτεροῦντα.⁸ The same, perhaps, appears in a Phœnician inscription from Carthage,⁹ and in the Egyptian "first," "second," and "third" prophets of Amon.

II. The Sacrifices.

These are all grouped under the heading of—



Holocaust.—The entire sacrifice was burnt upon the altar; the ritual is given in Lev. vi. 8-13.

Meal Offering.—This peculiar class of oblation is obscured in the Douay version¹⁰ by the rendering "an oblation of sacrifice," instead of "an oblation of a meal offering." It consisted of flour and oil; if it were of the first-fruits, then

¹ 3 Kings ii. 26-27.

² 2 Sam. viii. 17, xv. 24-35, xvii. 15, xix. 11, xx. 25, 3 Kings i. 2, 4, etc.

³ 4 Kings vii.

⁴ 2 Paral. xxiv.

⁵ 4 Kings xxiii-xxiv.

⁶ Ecclus. i.

⁷ 2 Macc. iii., iv., xv.

⁸ Jer. lii. 24; cf. 4 Kings xxv. 18, and xxiii. 4 (LXX) δευτερεύουσι.

⁹ R.B., July, 1903, p. 48.

¹⁰ Lev. ii. i.

the actual grains were offered,¹ a handful of it was burnt, the rest was the perquisite of the priest;² a meal offering by a priest was wholly burnt.³ The ritual is given in Lev. vi. 14-18.

The Sacrifice of Peace Offerings (Lev. iii. 1-17).—This consisted of the offering of an animal, whether of the herd or of the flock; a distinction was made in the ritual according as the sacrifice was offered in *thanksgiving* or in fulfilment of a *vow*;⁴ loaves are added in either case, but in the former the flesh must be eaten that same day; the breast and the shoulder are the perquisite of the priest.⁵

Offerings for Sin.—A clear distinction is made between sins of ignorance involving technical guilt though not deliberate guilt,⁶ and sins due to deliberation.⁷ We have regulations for sacrifices for unwitting sin on the part of a priest,⁸ on the part of the whole assembly of the people,⁹ on the part of a prince,¹⁰ on the part of one of the people.¹¹ A sacrifice is always necessary; in the two former cases, it is enacted that the carcase be burnt outside the camp after the sacrificial fat has been burnt upon the altar, and apparently the same is to be the rule in the two latter cases. In all these cases the sacrifice is known as "the sin offering," in Hebrew *chataath*. In what appear to be instances of particular sins of inadvertence, in addition to the "sin offering," or *chataath*, a "guilt offering," *asham*, is required.¹² The same enactment holds good for sins regarding the ritual to be observed.¹³ In cases of deliberate sin a "guilt offering" is necessary, besides restoration where called for.¹⁴ Both the sin offering and the guilt offering are the perquisite of the priest.¹⁵

The Morning and Evening Sacrifice.—This consisted of a lamb, with the addition of a meal offering, to which also wine was added.¹⁶ From other passages we gather that

¹ *Ibid.* 14-16.

² *Ibid.* 10, vi. 16-18, vii. 9-10.

³ *Ibid.* vi. 19-23.

⁴ Cf. Lev. vii. 11-21.

⁵ *Ibid.* 34.

⁶ Lev. iv-v.

⁷ *Ibid.* vi. 1-7.

⁸ *Ibid.* iv. 3-12.

⁹ *Ibid.* 13-21.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 22-26.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 27-35.

¹² *Ibid.* v. 1-13.

¹³ *Ibid.* 14-19.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* vi. 1-7; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* III. ix-x.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* vi. 25-29, vii. 1-10.

¹⁶ Exod. xxix. 38-42, Num. xxviii. 1.

trumpets were blown and psalms sung,¹ also that public prayers were recited.²

An interesting comment on the sacrificial laws of *Leviticus* is furnished by various sacrificial tariffs discovered at Carthage. We give one discovered by Nathan Davis in 1858 at Carthage; it is, however, very mutilated, as the bracketed words and lines show:

1. Tariff of payments erected by [the overseers of payments].
2. [For an ox, whole-offerings or prayer-offering (?), the skin shall go] to the priests, but the (?) shall belong to the person offering the sacrifice.
3. [For a calf, whole-offerings, or a prayer-offering (?), the skin shall go] to the priests, but the (?) shall belong to the person offering the sacrifice. . . .
4. [For a ram or a goat, whole-offerings or] prayer-offering (?) the skin of the goats shall go to the priests, but the (?) [and the feet] shall go . . .
5. [For a lamb or for a kid or for] the young (?) of a hart, whole-offerings or prayer-offering (?), the skin shall go to the pries[ts].
6. [For every sacrifice which one may sacrifice who is poor in cattle, nothing of them shall go to the priest.
7. [For a bird, a domestic (?) or] a wild (?) one, a silver *zars* for each.
8. [For every prayer-offering (?) wh]ich is carried before the gods there goes to the priest the (?) and [the (?) . . .
9. [For all] sacred [first-fruits], and for a sacrifice of game (?) and for a sacrifice of oil. . . .
10. [For a cake and] for milk and for a sacrifice for a meal-offering, and for [every sacrifice which a man is disposed to sacrifice. . . .
11. [Every payment which] is not set down on this table shall be give[n . . .³

III. Bibliography.

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¹ 2 Paral. xxix. 27, Ecclus. i. 16-18; cf. Ps. xxiii., xlvii., lxxx., lxxx., xci. (LXX title), xcii. (LXX title).

² 2 Paral. xxix. 28; Ecclus. i. 17-19; cf. Luke i. 10, Acts iii. 1.

³ This tablet, known as the *Davis Inscription*, is supposed to date from the fourth to the third century B.C. The gaps are filled from a similar inscription; cf. Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, No. 43, and Ball, *Light from the East*, pp. 248-250, with an admirable photograph; cf. the more famous *Marseilles Tariff Inscription*, Cooke, No. 42, pp. 112-122; Ball, *l.c.*, pp. 247-254; Lagrange, *Réligions des Sémites*, 2nd ed., p. 474.

205. W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*. Lagrange, O.P., *Études sur les Religions Sémitiques*, 2nd ed., 1905. Poels, *Examen critique de l'Histoire du Sanctuaire*, Louvain, 1897; cf. *R.B.*, 1898, p. 473 ff. Philo, *De Victimis*. Schurer, *H.J.P.* II. i. R. Dussaud, *Les origines cananéennes du sacrifice israélite*, 1921. G. B. Gray, *Sacrifice in the Old Testament, its Theory and Practice*, 1925. The student will find in the *Summa Theologica*, Ia. II^{da}e. xcviⁱⁱ-cv., most profound teaching on the sacrifices and priesthood of the old law. Against Wellhausen's views see *B.S.*, July, 1910, and January, 1911; see, too, *J.T.S.*, January, 1910.

CHAPTER XII

HEBREW MONEY, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES

I. The Monetary System.

In early days wealth consisted in flocks and herds,¹ or, in more portable fashion, in rings, bracelets, ear-rings,² etc. When each of Job's friends gave him a gold ear-ring,³ it is reasonable to suppose that these were of the same weight and recognized value, more especially if the *kesitah*, קְשִׁיטָה, "ewe" in the Douay version, stood for a definite sum.⁴ Abraham's steward wins Rebecca by showing her golden ear-rings weighing two shekels each and bracelets weighing ten shekels.⁵ The Midianites, too, apparently wore their wealth on their persons in the form of rings and bracelets.⁶ The art of coining money is attributed to the Lydians, and the circulation of real coins or pieces stamped with some official mark can apparently only be traced back to about one hundred years previous to the Captivity.⁷ Yet it is evident that pieces of silver of definite value were in circulation. We get a hint of this when the Hebrews are instructed by Moses to take their produce to Jerusalem by selling it and "turning it into money";⁸ the minute instructions for the annual offerings for the tabernacle show us the same feature: everyone shall offer "half a shekel according to the standard of the temple. A shekel hath twenty obols."⁹ There was, then, a standard shekel, and it had recognized fractional parts. Similarly, Saul

¹ Gen. xiii. 5, Job i. 3, xlii. 12.

² Gen. xiii. 2, xxiv. 22, 30, 47, xxviii. 18, 25, Exod. xii. 35, xxxii. 2-3, xxxv. 22, Num. xxxi. 50, Isa. iii. 19, etc.

³ Job xlii. 11.

⁴ See below.

⁵ Gen. xxiv. 22, 30, 47; but note the Hebrew text of verse 22.

⁶ Num. xxxi. 50; cf. Judg. viii. 24-26.

⁷ Thus Herod's legacies in "coined money" are expressly referred to by Josephus, *Ant.* XVII. viii. i, xi. 5.

⁸ Deut. xiv. 24-26.

⁹ Exod. xxx. 13.

offered Samuel "a quarter of a shekel of silver,"¹ and in the Restoration-period the temple tax was fixed at "the third part of a shekel."² The word "shekel" (in D.V. "sicle") comes from a root meaning "to weigh," and presumably the half million and more half-shekels for the sanctuary³ were not counted separately;⁴ transactions were conducted by "weighing out" a certain "weight" of silver or gold; we have a good example of this in the story of Abraham's purchase of a burying-place.⁵ Hence the unit of weight was termed the "shekel," but the word, as being the understood unit, was often omitted.⁶ The two multiples of the shekel were the mina and the talent. Strictly speaking, 60 shekels made a mina, and 60 minas a talent, but for the precious metals a different system was in vogue by which 50 shekels made a mina, and 60 of these lesser minas made a talent.

These three units were in use in Babylonia for centuries before the Exodus, and the Babylonian system was adopted by the Phoenicians, the great commercial people. From them it spread to the Hebrews, if indeed it was not already in use among them. Two points must be attended to with regard to this Babylonian system: (a) It was a double system, one of light weights and another of double weights; thus, while the ordinary Babylonian shekel weighed 126 grains with its proportionate minas and talents, there was also a system based upon a shekel of double that weight, *i.e.* 252 grains; herein lies the key to many difficulties connected with the metrology of the Bible. (b) In addition to the ordinary system there existed, as already indicated, a peculiar system for the precious metals; thus, the standard for gold consisted of a shekel of 126 and 252 grains, of a mina of 50 shekels of either of the above weights, and of a talent weighing 60 of either of the above minas. The silver standard was different; the shekels, light and heavy, weighed 168 and 336 grains, 50 of them went to the two respective minas, and 60 of the latter to the two respective talents. Lastly there was the royal standard, according to which the shekels weighed respectively 130 and 260 grains.⁷

¹ 1 Sam. ix. 8.

² Neh. x. 33.

³ Exod. xxxviii. 26; *cf.* Lev. v. 15, Num. iii. 50, xviii. 16.

⁴ This formed "the sacred money," "the treasury of God," which was forwarded yearly even from Babylon, and the enormous quantity of which so excited the cupidity of the Romans and of the foreign cities in which Jews lived (see *Ant.* XIV. x. 12, XVIII. ix. 1).

⁵ Gen. xxiii. 9-16; *cf.* xx. 16, xxxvii. 28, Judg. xvi. 5, 18, xvii. 2, 4 Kings v. 23.

⁶ See 3 Kings x. 29, where, however, the word "shekel" is inserted in the Douay version.

⁷ See the "royal" shekel in the Egibi documents, vi. 1, *R.P.* xi. 97.

The Phœnician traders had a silver shekel of 112 and 224 grains, and as this shekel was the one adopted in Palestine it is of importance for us.

The above weights may be summarized thus :

Ordinary shekel	=	126 or 252 grains.
Silver shekel of Babylonia	=	168 or 336 "
Gold shekel of Babylonia	=	126 or 252 "
Royal shekel of Babylonia	=	130 or 260 "
Phœnician silver shekel	=	112 or 224 "

The Hebrews undoubtedly found the Babylono-Phœnician system in use ; and that the weights were the same is clear from Josephus who says¹ that the mina weighed $2\frac{1}{2}$ Roman pounds, *i.e.* 5,053 grains ; this gives us a shekel of 252 grains, exactly the heavy Babylonian gold shekel—Josephus is speaking of the gold mina. From this we are able to estimate the value in pure gold of the three units :

		£	s.	d.
The gold shekel	=	2	1	0
The gold mina	=	102	10	0
The gold talent	=	6,150	0	0

And as silver stood to gold in the proportion of 1 : 13·3, 1 gold shekel of 252 grains will equal 15 silver shekels of 224 grains, so that we have the following values :

		£	s.	d.
The silver shekel	=	0	2	9
The silver mina	=	6	16	8
The silver talent	=	410	0	0 ²

We referred above to a "standard shekel." Two seem to be given in the Bible : the weight of Absalom's hair is stated to have been 200 shekels, "according to the weight of the king" ;³ the Septuagint translates this literally, but the Vulgate has "pondere publico." The other standard is "the shekel of the sanctuary," שֶׁקֶל הַקֹּדֶשׁ ;⁴ this the

¹ *Ant.* XIV. vii. 1.

² Professor Kennedy, however, repudiates this double standard theory—at any rate, as far as the Hebrews are concerned. See *Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, XLVII (1915), and Pilcher in *P.E.F.*, October, 1915.

³ 2 Sam. xiv. 26.

⁴ *E.g.* Exod. xxx. 13, 24, Lev. v. 15, xxvii. 3, 25, Num. iii. 47, 50, vii. 13, 21, Ezech. xlv. 12.

Septuagint renders variously: "according to the holy didrachmon," "according to the holy shekel," "by the shekel of the sanctuary," "by the holy weight"; the Vulgate has "juxta mensuram templi," or "juxta pondus sanctuarii." Now existing coined shekels weigh approximately 220 grains, which is the Phœnician standard, while לֶשֶׁק is regularly translated by the Septuagint by διδραχμον, or "two drachmæ." But whereas whenever the "shekel of the sanctuary" is mentioned, it is expressly stated that "the shekel hath 20 obols," Josephus several times¹ affirms that the Hebrew shekel was the equivalent of four Attic drachmæ, viz. the tetradrachm, which contained 24, not 20, obols, and which weighed approximately 270 instead of 220 grains. The solution of this difficulty may lie in the term בֶּכָה, *beka*, which only occurs twice in the Bible, and is, unfortunately, passed over in the Vulgate and Douay versions; in Gen. xxiv. 22 we should read "a ring of gold a beka in weight";² similarly, in Exod. xxxviii. 26, "a beka ahead, that is half a shekel, according to the shekel of the sanctuary." Till recently no examples of this *beka* weight were known, but three specimens discovered a few years back³ were found to weigh on the average 96½ grains. In the two passages given above the Septuagint translated *beka* by δραχμή, and the drachma of Ægina weighed 97 grains. Hence it seems pretty well assured that the "shekel of the sanctuary" was a distinct weight from the Attic tetradrachm in ordinary use, with its 24 obols, and was based on the currency of Ægina, which had long prevailed in the East till the Æginetan mint was destroyed by Athens in 456 B.C.

Following the order of the books, we find the above

¹ *Ant.* III. viii. 2.

² St. Jerome so paraphrases this that the sense is lost, "inaures aureas appendentes siclos duos," and whereas, on Ezech. iv. 9, *P.L.* XXV. 48, he says: "Siclus, that is a stater which equals four drachmæ, and eight drachmæ make an ounce"—whence a shekel would weigh half an ounce—he remarks on the above passage of Genesis, "*Bace* (בַּכָּה), here written instead of didrachma, is half an ounce"; *secel* (שֶׁקֶל), which in Latin is wrongly spelled "siclus," weighs an ounce (*Quæst. Hebr. in Genesim*, *P.L.*, xxiii. 975).

³ Two were found at Jerusalem and one at Gezer, see *P.E.F.*, July-October, 1912, and October, 1915, p. 191.

units mentioned again and again. Thus Abraham buys the field from Ephron for 400 shekels of silver,¹ and we note that he pays in "money current with the merchant."² The mina is not mentioned till the time of Solomon;³ each of the shields of gold which he set up in the "house of Libanus" was covered with 300 pounds, *i.e.* minas, of gold,⁴ or, in terms of English values, £30,750 for each! Talents of gold and silver are mentioned all through the history; indeed, the amount of specie in circulation must have been enormous. We need only mention a few of the huge sums expended: the golden candlestick⁵ weighed a talent of gold—at the present rate of purchase it would have cost £6,150; the gold used in the Holy Place amounted to 29 talents 730 shekels,⁶ or more than £178,452; Solomon's yearly income in gold alone was 666 talents, or £4,095,900. We learn that the fund for the temple at the time of David's death⁷ was 106,000 talents of gold, or £651,900,000, in addition to 1,017,000 talents of silver, or £416,971,000; in all, £1,068,870,000!

In later books, such as *Chronicles*, *Esdras-Nehemias*, *Ecclesiasticus*, we find other moneys mentioned, such as, for example, *drachmas*⁸ and *solids*.⁹ In the Revised Version of these passages both the above are given as *darics*, as though they represented the Persian darics coined by Darius Hystaspes, but this is really an anachronism since the passages in *Esdras-Nehemias* refer to the time of Cyrus, and therefore to a period anterior to the coining of darics by Darius. Further, in *Esdras* viii. 27 it is clearly question of the *weight* of the golden cups, and it is practically certain that in the term "darkemon," here used in the original, we have only a Semitic transcription of the Greek "drachma" which stood for the hundredth part of a mina, or for the half-shekel; here it stands for a weight rather than a coin. The expression "solids" or "solidi" is due to the Septuagint which rendered them χρυσοί, and probably saw in

¹ Gen. xxiii. 15.

² Revised Version.

³ 3 Kings x. 17.

⁴ The student should examine this passage in the original and in the versions, as also the parallel in *Chronicles*.

⁵ Exod. xxv. 39.

⁶ Exod. xxviii. 24.

⁷ 1 Paral. xxii. 14, xxix. 4, 7.

⁸ Neh. vii. 71-73.

⁹ 1 Paral. xxix. 7, *Esdras* ii. 69, viii. 27, *Ecclus.* xxix. 7.

them a reference to the gold shekel of Darius known as a "stater" or "daric"; on the light Babylonian system, this gold shekel would have weighed 130 grains.

In three places¹ we find "lambs" or "ewes" mentioned as a means of exchange. The Hebrew word is a peculiar one, כֶּסִּיטָה (*kesitah*); it is rendered by the LXX ἀμῶν, whence the Vulgate "agnus"; some have thought that we have here an allusion to a piece of money stamped with a lamb as a symbol of its value, but this is only a guess.

Other Moneys.—In a few places² we have the *stater* mentioned, in the Hebrew and Greek text "shekel," for which it is the equivalent. The word is due to the Greek στατήρ, which exactly represents the Hebrew root שָׁקַל, "shakal," "to weigh." The "drachma" of Neh. vii. 70-72 has been explained above as being the equivalent of the hundredth part of a mina, *i.e.* a half-shekel; but here again we have the old confusion between the light and heavy Babylonian standards. For relatively to the heavy shekel of 260 grains, the stater of the time of Darius was only a half-shekel, and might thus be described as a drachma; relatively to the light standard or light Babylonian shekel it was its full equivalent, and thus should rather be rendered "shekel" or "stater" than "drachma"; and that this is what is meant in the passage in question is clear from the fact that these "drachmas" are described as "gold" pieces, whereas there was no gold half-shekel.

In brief, then, we have the following moneys mentioned in the Bible:

				<i>Gold.</i>			<i>Silver.</i>		
				£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Shekel	...	...		2	1	0	0	2	9
Stater	...	...		2	1	0	0	2	9
"Solids"	...	...		2	1	0	0	2	9
Drachma	...	...		2	1	0	0	2	9
Mina	...	...		102	10	0	6	16	8
Talent	...	...		6,160	0	0	410	0	0

No specimens have come down to us of the early half-shekel pieces offered in the temple; it is probable that these were melted down. But we have silver shekels

¹ Gen. xxxiii. 19, Jos. xxiv. 32, and Job xlii. 11.

² 4 Kings vii. 1, Jer. xxxii. 9, Ezech. iv. 10.

which may belong to the time of the Restoration under Esdras or to Maccabæan times.¹ These represent the pot of manna and what may be Aaron's rod; they bear the inscription “Shekel of Israel” and “Jerusalem the Holy.” We have also tetradrachms of Alexander the Great coined at Joppe, Bethshan and Acre, as also of later Seleucidan kings. Copper half-shekels of the Maccabæan period exist. Antiochus VII. gave Simon the Maccabee leave to coin money, perhaps the most significant proof of the liberty these heroes had won for Israel; it is not surprising, then, to find these coins inscribed “The Redemption of Israel.”

For weights as distinct from moneys the following table will prove useful:

Talent	I			
Maneh	60	I		
Shekel	3,000	50	I	
Bekah	6,000	100	2	I

With regard to the talent, **בִּזְרִי**, it should be noted that there were several standards. Thus we have the “royal” talent weighing 158 pounds; the silver talent of 117 pounds; and the gold talent of 131 pounds.² These had their corresponding manehs and shekels.

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¹ Most numismatists reject even the Maccabæan origin of these silver shekels, and refer them to the revolt preceding the fall of Jerusalem; thus Head, *Guide to the Coins of the Ancients*, 4th ed., pp. 93-94; Pilcher in *P.E.F.*, July, 1912, and Kennedy, *ibid.*, October, 1914, p. 197.

² Josephus, *Ant.* III. vi. 1, says the talent weighed 100 Roman pounds; he is referring to the golden candlestick; *cp.* XIV. vii. 1, where he also tells us that the mina weighed 2½ Roman pounds.

Museum, 1914; *cf.* a good discussion on this by Pilcher, *Palestinian Numismatics*, P.E.F., October, 1914, P.S.B.A., May, 1897. J. de Morgan, *Manuel de Numismatique de l'Antiquité et du Moyen-Age*, 1923. Vicomte Fénelon, *Du Bimétallisme chez les Hébreux*; *cf.* P.E.F., January, 1902. A. R. S. Kennedy in H.D.B., article *Money*. For further details see P.E.F., 1896, for various coins found in Palestine; 1902, p. 175, July-October, 1906, especially Pilcher, July-October, 1912, on *Palestinian Weights*, with a useful bibliography; April, 1916; *Expositor*, October, 1916, *The Coins of the Jews and Messianic Traditions*; *Expository Times*, June, 1913; R.B., 1892, p. 446, July-October, 1912, April, 1914; P.S.B.A., XXXIV. 3, 1912.

II. Hebrew Measures.

(a) **Linear Measures.**—Hebrew linear measures were all derived from the measurements of the human body; thus we read of “the rod of men,”¹ “the pen of a man,”² and “the cubit of a man.”³ The Hebrew *אמה*, translated “cubit,” may be from a root meaning “to be in front,” and so referring possibly to the forearm, whence the Latin *cubitus* and the Greek *πῆχυς*. Though the divisions of the cubit are the “finger-breadth,” the “palm,” and the “span,” it is probable that the cubit itself was the unit, and though established on so rough a basis as the human forearm, it must have stood for a perfectly definite length; but what that was precisely is nowhere stated in the Bible. The problem is complicated by the fact that there seem to have been two standards; for Ezechiel says that the measuring-rod used by the man who in his vision measured the temple was “six cubits of a cubit and a palm-breadth,”⁴ and he gives the measurements of the altar “in cubits—a cubit and a palm-breadth”;⁵ similarly, the chronicler thus gives the temple measurements: “the length cubits according to the earlier measure cubits sixty.”⁶ Hence it has been maintained that whereas the ordinary cubit con-

¹ 2 Sam. vii. 14.

² Isa. viii. 1.

³ Deut. iii. 11.

⁴ xl. 5: *אמה וטפח*; *τὸ μέτρον πήχεων ἐξ ἐν πήχει καὶ παλαιστής*; Vulgate, “*mensuræ sex cubitorum et palmo*.”

⁵ xliii. 13: *אמה וטפח*; *ἐν πήχει τοῦ πήχεως καὶ παλαιστής*; Vulgate, “*in cubitu verissimo, qui habebat cubitum et palnum*.”

⁶ 2 Paral. iii. 3: *אמות במדה הראשונה*; *πήχεων ἢ διαμέτρους ἡ πρώτη*; Vulgate, “*in mensura prima*.”

tained six "palms," that used in building the temple contained seven. It seems certain, too, that in Egypt there was the same dual standard, *viz.* a cubit of six and a cubit of seven palms;¹ the shorter one averages 17·68 inches on existing cubit measuring-rods. If the figure "1,200 cubits" assigned in the Siloam inscription² to the length of the tunnel is anything more than a round number, then the 1,758 feet it actually measures will give a cubit of 17·58 inches. But a disconcerting feature appears in the fact that whereas Josephus is rather particular in giving corresponding Greek and Roman figures for Jewish measurements,³ he never does so when giving cubit measurements for the temple; it is possible to argue that he knew that the Roman and the Hebrew cubit were identical. But the Roman cubit averages 17·47 inches, whereas, according to what Ezechiel has told us, the cubit used in building the temple was a cubit of seven palms, not six. We must either drop the argument from Josephus' silence or disregard Ezechiel's statements. Modern metrologists are content to do the latter, but this seems hardly reasonable in view of the evidence from Egypt and the Bible.⁴ For practical purposes, however, the only cubit which concerns us—on the supposition that there were two standards—is the shorter one used for ordinary purposes, and this gives us a cubit of about 17½ inches.

The *finger-breadth*, עַצְבָּן , δάκτυλος, only occurs in Jer. lii. 21, a passage apparently quoted by Josephus.⁵

The *palm*, or hand-breadth, קַדְמָה , παλαιστή, is the breadth of the four fingers, and is variously rendered in the Douay version, *e.g.* "four fingers,"⁶ "hand-breadth,"⁷ "measurable,"⁸ "three inches."⁹

¹ See Kennedy, *H.B.D.* IV., *s.v.* *Measures* (1902); *P.E.F.*, 1897, p. 203; *P.S.B.A.* XIV. 403, 1892.

² Cf. *P.E.F.*, 1882, for Conder's details.

³ *Ant.* XV. xi. 3, XX. ix. 7.

⁴ Thus Kennedy, who had held the above views in 1902, *H.D.B.* IV. *s.v.* *Measures*, withdrew them *P.E.F.*, October, 1915, p. 186; see Sir Charles Warren, *P.E.F.*, 1906, p. 185.

⁵ *Ant.* VIII. iii. 4.

⁶ Exod. xxv. 25, xxxvii. 12.

⁷ 2 Paral. iv. 5, Ezech. xl. 5, 43, xliii. 13.

⁸ Ps. xxxix. (H.) 6, *mensurabiles*, LXX παλαιστας.

⁹ 3 Kings vii. 26.

The *span*, *זרר*, *σπιθαμή*,¹ is the distance between the thumb and the little finger when spread out.

The *furlong* and the *mile*, which occur in *Maccabees*² and in the New Testament,³ are, of course, derived from Roman usage; the *stadium* measured 625 Roman feet (606 feet 9 inches in English); it was the eighth part of the Roman *milliarium* or "mile," and rather less than an eighth of an English mile.

(b) *Measures of Capacity*.—These are quite plain in the Hebrew text; the obscurity arises solely from varying translations of the same Hebrew word, and from a tendency to substitute "measure" for more precise terms. It will make for convenience if we take the liquid and dry measures apart. There were three measures for liquids: the *bath*, the *hin*, and the *log*; their mutual relation may be conveniently expressed thus:

Bath	1	
Hin	6	1
Log	72	12

The *Bath*, *בַּת*, *βάτος*,⁴ was the equivalent of six to seven gallons, and of the same capacity as the *ephi* among the dry measures. In the Douay version it is generally rendered "bate,"⁵ sometimes "measure,"⁶ once by "barrel."⁷

The *Hin*, *הִין*, *εῖν* or *ῖν*, was the sixth part of the bath, holding about a gallon. In the Douay version it is generally transliterated "hin,"⁸ but once, following the Vulgate,

¹ Exod. xxviii. 16, xxxix. 9, 1 Sam. xvii. 4; mistakenly rendered "palm" in Isa. xl. 12 and Ezech. xliii. 13. The "pace," *passus*, in Num. xxxv. 4 is a mistranslation of *מִקְדָּשׁ*, and should be *cubitos*, as in verse 5.

² 2 Macc. xi. 5, xii. 9, 29.

³ Matt. v. 41, Luke xxiv. 13, John vi. 19, xi. 18, Apoc. xiv. 20, xxi. 16. For Josephus and the Roman mile see Sir Charles Watson in *P.E.F.*, October, 1915.

⁴ The Septuagint has *βάτος* only in 2 Esdras vii. 22; sometimes it renders it by *κοτύλη*, Ezech. xlv. 14, also *βάυθ* in 3 Kings v. 11; but Aquila and Symmachus have *βάτος* in Isa. v. 10 and elsewhere. The Septuagint also has *φοινίξ* which, as it stands for two pints, is absurd; more often they have simply the evasive *μέτρον*. See Josephus, *Ant.* III. xv. 3, VIII. ii. 9, XV. ix. 2.

⁵ E.g. 3 Kings vii. 26, Ezech. xlv. 10.

⁶ 2 Paral. ii. 10, iv. 5, Isa. v. 10.

⁷ Luke xvi. 6.

⁸ Exod. xxxix. 40, etc.

it is translated as "sextary,"¹ the proper translation of "log."

The *Log*, לֹג, κοτύλη, always "sextary" in the Douay version;² in the Gospels ξέστος is translated "pot."³

(c) **Dry Measures.**—In addition to such rule of thumb measures as "the handful"⁴ and "the double handful,"⁵ we have the following definite measures for dry material: the *Seah*, the *Omer*, the *Ephi*, and the *Homer*.

The *Seah*, סָא, σάτον,⁶ but generally μέτρον in the Septuagint,⁷ and so *mensura*, or "measure," in Vulgate and Douay,⁸ but sometimes "bushel."⁹ The seah was equal to an English peck, and was the third part of an ephi.¹⁰ In the siege of Samaria "the fourth part of a cab" is mentioned,¹¹ and according to Rabbinic tradition six "cabs" went to one seah. Hence we should have the equation:

Ephi	1	
Seah	3	1
Cab	18	

The *Omer*, עֹמֶר, γομέρ, "gomer" in Douay version, as a measure occurs only in the account of the manna;¹² the same word figures as a "sheaf" several times;¹³ as a measure the omer was the tenth part of an ephi,¹⁴ and as such is identified with "the tenth part," עֶשְׂרֹן, which is so often mentioned in the ritual.¹⁵

¹ Lev. xix. 36, where the Septuagint has χούς, and *cf.* Josephus, *Ant.* III. ix. 4.

² Lev. xiv. 10-24.

³ Mark vii. 4.

⁴ Lev. v. 12.

⁵ *Ibid.* xvi. 12.

⁶ In Aquila and Symmachus of Gen. xviii. 6. The Septuagint has it only in Agg. ii. 17, where there is no corresponding Hebrew word; in N.T. Mark xiii. 33, Luke xiii. 21; *satum* in the Vulgate only, Gen. xviii. 6 and Num. v. 16; *cf.* Josephus, *Ant.* IX. iv. 5.

⁷ "Per duas aratiunculas," δύο μετρητὰς σπέρματος, in 3 Kings xviii. 32, Douay "breadth of two furrows," but R.V. "as would contain two measures of seed."

⁸ *E.g.* Luke xii. 42.

⁹ 4 Kings vii. 1, 16, 18.

¹⁰ *Cf.* Isa. xl. 12.

¹¹ 4 Kings vi. 25, and only here, but the text is doubtful.

¹² Exod. xvi.

¹³ Lev. xxiii. 11, *fasciculum*, *manipulum*, Deut. xxiv. 19; "ears of corn" in Ruth ii. 7, 15, and Job xxiv. 10.

¹⁴ Exod. xvi. 36.

¹⁵ Exod. xxix. 40, Lev. xiv. 10; *cf.* Num. xv. 4 (LXX).

The *Ephi* or *Ephah*, עֲפָי, *óphi*, *satum*, rendered sometimes "bushel,"¹ often "measure,"² was the equivalent of ten omers, or about three English pecks. Ten ephis went to one homer.³

The *Homer*, הֹמֶר, *γομόρ*, was the same as the core, קֶר, which is often transliterated "core,"⁵ or rendered by "bushel";³ it was equivalent to about eight bushels, or an English "quarter."⁷

In addition to these principal measures we have the עֶשְׂרֵי אֶבְנִים, or "three fingers,"⁸ where note the sequence: "Quis mensus est pugillo (בִּשְׁעָלֹו, *χεῖρι*) aquas et cœlos palmo (בְּיָדָת, *σπιθαμῇ*) ponderavit? Quis appendit tribus digitis (בְּשָׁלֶשׁ, *δρακτ*) molem terræ, et libravit in pondere (בְּפָלֶס, *σταθμῶ*) montes et colles in statera (בְּמֵאזְנִים, *ῥυγῶ*)." In Osee iii. 2 occurs the word לֶחֶת; St. Jerome renders the whole phrase "a core of barley and half a core of barley," the Septuagint by "a core," *γομόρ*, of barley, and a "nebel" of wine. St. Jerome says the other Greek translators rendered this ἡμίκορον.⁹

We may tabulate these results thus:

Homer	I	(the letheke = half a homer)
Ephi	10	I
Omer	100	10

It is clear from this and the preceding table that we have no clear-cut multiples of some one standard; there seem to be two systems at work, or perhaps different measures came into use owing to local customs or the nature of the materials to be weighed.

¹ Lev. xix. 36, Isa. v. 10.

² Num. v. 15, Judg. vi. 19; in 1 Sam. i. 24 we should rather read "and an ephi of flour," that is, one bushel, not "three bushels"; in Ruth ii. 17 St. Jerome seems to have added to the words "an ephi of barley" the explanatory note, "that is, three bushels." In Zach. v. 6 for "ephi" we have "vessel."

³ Ezech. xlv. 14.

⁴ Ezech. xlv. 14, where LXX has *γομόρ*; see St. Jerome *in loco*, P.L. XXV. 449-451; *cp.* Lev. xxvii. 16, 2 Paral. ii. 10.

⁵ Num. xi. 32, Ezech. xlv. 11, 13, 14, Osee iii. 2; in Luke xvi. 7 "a quarter."

⁶ Lev. xxvii. 16, Isa. v. 10.

⁷ In the translation of the cylinder of Tiglath-Pileser I., c. 1100 B.C., he says "a homer by way of tax of lead . . . I imposed" (*Records of the Past, New Series*, I., p. 108).

⁸ Isa. xl. 12.

⁹ P.L. XXV. 842.

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APPENDIX A

VENERABILIBVS FRATRIBVS PATRIARCHIS PRIMATIBVS
ARCHIEPISCOPIS ET EPISCOPIS VNIVERSIS CATHOLICI
ORBIS GRATIAM ET COMMVNIONEM CVM APOSTOLICA
SEDE HABENTIBVS

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES

SALVTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM

PROVIDENTISSIMUS DEUS, qui humanum genus, admirabili caritatis consilio, ad consortium naturae divinae principio evexit, dein a communi labe exitioque eductum, in pristinam dignitatem restituit, hoc eidem propterea contulit singulare praesidium, ut arcana divinitatis, sapientiae, misericordiae suae supernaturali via patefaceret. Licet enim in divina revelatione res quoque comprehendantur quae humanae rationi inaccessae non sunt, ideo hominibus revelatae, *ut ab omnibus expedite, firma certitudine et nullo admixto errore cognosci possint, non hac tamen de causa revelatio absolute necessaria dicenda est, sed quia Deus ex infinita bonitate sua ordinavit hominem ad finem supernaturalem.*¹ Quae supernaturalis revelatio, secundum universalis Ecclesiae fidem, continetur tum in sine scripto traditionibus, tum etiam in libris scriptis, qui appellantur sacri et canonici, eo quod Spiritu Sancto inspirante conscripti, Deum habent auctorem, atque ut tales ipsi Ecclesiae traditi sunt.² Hoc sane de utriusque Testamenti libris perpetuo tenuit palamque professsa est Ecclesia: eaque cognita sunt gravissima veterum documenta, quibus enuntiatur, Deum, prius per prophetas, deinde per seipsum, postea per apostolos locutum, etiam Scripturam condidisse, quae canonica nominatur,³ eandemque esse oracula et eloquia divina,⁴ litteras esse, humano generi longe a patria peregrinanti a Patre caelesti datas et per auctores sacros transmissas.⁵ Iam, tanta quum

¹ Conc. Vat., sess. iii., cap. ii., de revel.

² Ibid.

³ S. Aug., *De civ. Dei*, xi. 3.

⁴ S. Clem. Rom., 1 ad Cor. 45; S. Polycarp. ad Phil. 7; S. Iren., *c. haer.* ii. 28, 2.

⁵ S. Chrys., in *Gen. hom.* 2, 2; S. Aug., in *Ps.* xxx., *serm.* 2, 1; S. Greg. M. ad Theod., *Ep.* iv. 31.

sit praestantia et dignitas Scripturarum, ut Deo ipso auctore confectae, altissima eiusdem mysteria, consilia, opera complectantur, illud consequitur, eam quoque partem sacrae theologiae, quae in eisdem divinis Libris tuendis interpretandisque versatur, excellentiae et utilitatis esse quam maximae.—Nos igitur, quemadmodum alia quaedam disciplinarum genera, quippe quae ad incrementa divinae gloriae humanaeque salutis valere plurimum posse viderentur, crebris epistolis et cohortationibus provehenda, non sine fructu, Deo adiutore, curavimus, ita nobilissimum hoc sacrarum Litterarum studium excitare et commendare, atque etiam ad temporum necessitates congruentius dirigere iamdiu apud Nos cogitamus. Movemur nempe ac prope impellimur sollicitudine Apostolici muneris, non modo ut hunc praeclarum catholicae revelationis fontem tutius atque uberius ad utilitatem dominici gregis patere velimus, verum etiam ut eundem ne patiamur ulla in parte violari, ab iis qui in Scripturam sanctam, sive impio ausu invehuntur aperte, sive nova quaedam fallaciter imprudenterve moliuntur. —Non sumus equidem nescii, Venerabiles Fratres, haud paucos esse e catholicis, viros ingenio doctrinisque abundantes, qui ferantur alacres ad divinorum Librorum vel defensionem agenda vel cognitionem et intelligentiam parandam ampliorem. At vero, qui eorum operam atque fructus merito collaudamus, facere tamen non possumus quin ceteros etiam, quorum sollertia et doctrina et pietas optime hac in re pollicentur, ad eandem sancti propositi laudem vehementer hortemur. Optamus nimirum et cupimus, ut plures patrocinium divinarum Litterarum rite suscipiant teneantque constanter; utque illi potissime, quos divina gratia in sacrum ordinem vocavit, maiorem in dies diligentiam industriamque iisdem legendis, meditandis, explanandis, quod aequissimum est, impendant.

Hoc enimvero studium cur tantopere commendandum videatur, praeter ipsius praestantiam atque obsequium verbo Dei debitum, praecipua causa inest in multiplici utilitatum genere, quas inde novimus manaturas, sponsore certissimo Spiritu Sancto: *Omnis Scriptura divinitus inspirata, utilis est ad docendum, ad arguendum, ad corripiendum, ad erudiendum in iustitia, ut perfectus sit homo Dei, ad omne opus bonum instructus.*¹ Tali sane consilio Scripturas a Deo esse datas hominibus, exempla ostendunt Christi Domini et Apostolorum. Ipse enim qui "miraculis conciliavit auctoritatem, auctoritate meruit fidem, fide contraxit multitudinem,"² ad sacras Litteras, in divinae uae legationis munere, appellare consuevit: nam per occa-

¹ 2 Tim. iii. 16-17.

² S. Aug., *De util. cred.*, xiv. 32.

sionem ex ipsis etiam sese a Deo missum Deumque declarat; ex ipsis argumenta petit ad discipulos erudiendos, ad doctrinam confirmandam suam; earumdem testimonia et a calumniis vindicat obtrectantium, et Sadducaeis ac Phariseis ad coarguendum opponit, in ipsumque Satanam, impudentius sollicitantem, retorquet; easdemque sub ipsum vitae exitum usurpavit, explanavitque discipulis redivivus, usque dum ad Patris gloriam ascendit.—Eius autem voce praeceptisque Apostoli conformati, tametsi dabat ipse *signa et prodigia fieri per manus eorum*,¹ magnam tamen efficacitatem ex divinis traxerunt Libris, ut christianam sapientiam late gentibus persuaderent, ut Iudaeorum pervicaciam frangerent, ut haereses comprimerent erumpentes. Id apertum ex ipsorum concionibus, in primis Beati Petri, quas, in argumentum firmissimum praescriptionis novae, dictis veteris Testamenti fere contexuerunt; idque ipsum patet ex Matthaei et Ioannis Evangeliiis atque ex Catholicis, quae vocantur, epistolis; luculentissime vero ex eius testimonio qui “ad pedes Gamalielis Legem Moysi et Prophetas se didicisse gloriatur, ut armatus spiritualibus telis postea diceret confidenter: *Arma militiae nostrae non carnalia sunt, sed potentia Deo.*”²—Per exempla igitur Christi Domini et Apostolorum omnes intelligant, tirones praesertim militiae sacrae, quanti faciendae sint divinae Litterae, et quo ipsi studio qua religione ad idem veluti armamentarium accedere debeant. Nam catholicae veritatis doctrinam qui habeant apud doctos vel indoctos tractandam, nulla uspiam de Deo, summo et perfectissimo bono, deque operibus gloriam caritatemque ipsius prodentibus, suppetet eis vel cumulatior copia vel amplior praedicatio. De Servatore autem humani generis nihil uberius expressiusve quam ea, quae in universo habentur Bibliorum contextu; recteque affirmavit Hieronymus, “ignorationem Scripturarum esse ignorationem Christi”:³ ab illis nimirum extat, veluti viva et spirans, imago eius, ex qua levatio malorum, cohortatio virtutum, amoris divini invitatio mirifice prorsus diffunditur. Ad Ecclesiam vero quod attinet, institutio, natura, munera, charismata eius tam crebra ibidem mentione occurrunt, tam multa pro ea tamque firma prompta sunt argumenta, idem ut Hieronymus verissime edixerit: “Qui sacrarum Scripturarum testimoniis roboratus est, is est propugnaculum Ecclesiae.”⁴ Quod si de vitae morumque conformatione et disciplina quaeratur, larga indidem et optima subsidia habituri sunt viri apostolici: plena sanctitatis prae-scripta, suavitate et vi condita hortamenta, exempla in omni

¹ Act. xiv. 3.

² S. Hier., *De studio Script.* ad Paulin. Ep. liii. 3.

³ *In Is. Prol.*

⁴ *In Is. liv. 12.*

virtutum genere insignia; gravissima accedit, ipsius Dei nomine et verbis, praemiorum in aeternitatem promissio, denunciatio poenarum.

Atque haec propria et singularis Scripturarum virtus, a divino afflatu Spiritus Sancti profecta, ea est quae oratori sacro auctoritatem addit, apostolicam praebet dicendi libertatem, nervosam victricemque tribuit eloquentiam. Quisquis enim divini verbi spiritum et robur eloquendo refert ille, *non loquitur in sermone tantum, sed et in virtute et in Spiritu Sancto et in plenitudine multa*.¹ Quamobrem ii dicendi sunt praepostere improvideque facere, qui ita conciones de religione habent et praecepta divina enuntiant, nihil ut fere afferant nisi humanae scientiae et prudentiae verba, suis magis argumentis quam divinis innixi. Istorum scilicet orationem, quantumvis nitentem luminibus, languescere et frigere necesse est, utpote quae igne careat sermonis Dei,² eandemque longe abesse ab illa, qua divinus sermo pollet virtute: *Vivus est enim sermo Dei et efficax et penetrabilior omni gladio ancipiti, et pertingens usque ad divisionem animae ac spiritus*.³ Quamquam, hoc etiam prudentioribus assentiendum est, inesse in sacris Litteris mire variam et uberem magnisque dignam rebus eloquentiam: id quod Augustinus pervidit diserteque arguit,⁴ atque res ipsa confirmat praestantissimorum in oratoribus sacris, qui nomen suum assiduae Bibliorum consuetudini piaeque meditationi se praecipue debere, grati Deo affirmarunt.

Quae omnia Ss. Patres cognitione et usu quum exploratissima haberent, nunquam cessarunt in divinis Litteris earumque fructibus collaudandis. Eas enimvero crebris locis appellant vel thesaurum locupletissimum doctrinarum caelestium,⁵ vel perennes fontes salutis,⁶ vel ita proponunt quasi prata fertilia et amoenissimos hortos, in quibus grex dominicus admirabili modo reficiatur et delectetur.⁷ Apte cadunt illa S. Hieronymi ad Nepotianum clericum: “Divinas Scripturas saepius lege, imo nunquam de manibus tuis sacra lectio deponatur; disce quod doceas . . . sermo presbyteri Scripturarum lectione conditus sit”;⁸ convenitque sententia S. Gregorii Magni, quo nemo sapientius pastorum Ecclesiae descripsit munera: “Necesse est, inquit, ut qui ad officium praedicationis excubant, a sacrae lectionis studio non recedant.”⁹—Hic tamen libet

¹ 1 Thess. i. 5.

² Jerem. xxiii. 29.

³ Hebr. iv. 12.

⁴ *De doct. chr.*, iv. 6, 7.

⁵ S. Chrys., in *Gen. hom.* 21, 2; *hom.* 60, 3; S. Aug., *De discipl. chr.* 2.

⁶ S. Athan., *Ep. fest.* 39.

⁷ S. Aug., *serm.* 26, 24; S. Ambr., in *Ps. cxviii.*, *serm.* 19, 2.

⁸ S. Hier., *De vit. cleric.* ad Nepot.

⁹ S. Greg. M., *Regul. past.* II. 11 (*al.* 22); *Moral.* xviii. 26 (*al.* 14).

Augustinum admonentem inducere, “Verbi Dei inanem esse forinsecus praedicatorem, qui non sit intus auditor,”¹ eumque ipsum Gregorium sacris concionatoribus praecipientem, “ut in divinis sermonibus, priusquam aliis eos proferant, semetipsos requirant, ne insequentes aliorum facta se deserant.”² Sed hoc iam, ab exemplo et documento Christi, qui *coepit facere et docere*, vox apostolica late praemonuerat, non unum allocuta Timotheum, sed omnem clericorum ordinem, eo mandato: *Attende tibi et doctrinae, insta in illis; hoc enim faciens, et teipsum salvum facies, et eos qui te audiunt.*³ Salutis profecto perfectionisque et propriae et alienae eximia in sacris Litteris praesto sunt adiumenta, copiosius in Psalmis celebrata; iis tamen, qui ad divina eloquia, non solum mentem afferant docilem atque attentam, sed integrae quoque piaequae habitum voluntatis. Neque enim eorum ratio librorum similis atque communium putanda est; sed, quoniam sunt ab ipso Spiritu Sancto dictati, resque gravissimas continent multisque partibus reconditas et difficiliores, ad illas propterea intelligendas exponendasque semper eiusdem Spiritus “indigemus adventu,”⁴ hoc est lumine et gratia eius: quae sane, ut divini Psaltae frequenter instat auctoritas, humili sunt precatione imploranda, sanctimonia vitae custodienda.

Praeclare igitur ex his providentia excellit Ecclesiae, quae, *ne caelestis ille sacrorum Librorum thesaurus, quem Spiritus Sanctus summa liberalitate hominibus tradidit, neglectus iaceret*,⁵ optimis semper et institutis et legibus cavit. Ipsa enim constituit, non solum magnam eorum partem ab omnibus suis ministris in quotidiano sacrae psalmodiae officio legendam esse et mente pia considerandam, sed eorumdem expositionem et interpretationem in ecclesiis cathedralibus, in monasteriis, in conventibus aliorum regularium, in quibus studia commodè vigere possint, per idoneos viros esse tradendam; diebus autem saltem dominicis et festis solemnibus fideles salutaribus Evangelii verbis pasci, restricte iussit.⁶ Item prudentiae debetur diligentiaeque Ecclesiae cultus ille Scripturae sacrae per aetatem omnem vividus et plurimae ferax utilitatis.—In quo, etiam ad firmanda documenta hortationesque Nostras, iuvat commemorare quemadmodum a religionis christianae initiis, quotquot sanctitate vitae rerumque divinarum scientia floruerunt, ii sacris in Litteris multi semper assiduique fuerint. Proximos Apostolorum discipulos, in quibus Clementem Romanum, Ignatium Antiochenum, Polycarpum, tum Apologetas,

¹ S. Aug., *serm.* 179, I.

² S. Greg. M., *Regul. past.* III. 24 (*al.* 48).

⁴ S. Hier., *in Mich.* I, 10.

⁵ Conc. Trid., *sess. v., decret. de reform.* I.

³ I Tim. iv. 16.

⁶ *Ibid.* I-2.

nominatim Iustinum et Irenaeum, videmus epistolis et libris suis, sive ad tutelam sive ad commendationem pertinerent catholicorum dogmatum, e divinis maxime Litteris fidem, robur, gratiam omnem pietatis arcessere. Scholis autem catecheticis ac theologicis in multis sedibus episcoporum exortis, Alexandrina et Antiochena celeberrimis, quae in eis habebatur institutio, non alia prope re, nisi lectione, explicatione, defensione divini verbi scripti continebatur. Inde plerique prodierunt Patres et scriptores, quorum operosis studiis egregiisque libris consecuta tria circiter saecula ita abundarunt, ut aetas biblicae exegeseos aurea iure ea sit appellata.—Inter orientales principem locum tenet Origenes, celeritate ingenii et laborum constantia admirabilis, cuius ex plurimis scriptis et immenso Hexaplorum opere deinceps fere omnes hauserunt. Adnumerandi plures, qui huius disciplinae fines amplificaverunt: ita, inter excellentiores tulit Alexandria Clementem, Cyrillum; Palaestina Eusebium, Cyrillum alterum; Cappadocia Basilium Magnum, utrumque Gregorium, Nazianzenum et Nyssenum; Antiochia Ioannem illum Chrysostomum, in quo huius peritia doctrinae cum summa eloquentia certavit. Neque id praeclare minus apud occidentales. In multis qui se admodum probavere, clara Tertulliani et Cypriani nomina, Hilarii et Ambrosii, Leonis et Gregorii Magnorum; clarissima Augustini et Hieronymi: quorum alter mire acutus extitit in perspicenda divini verbi sententia, uberrimusque in ea deducenda ad auxilia catholicae veritatis, alter a singulari Biblicorum scientia magnisque ad eorum usum laboribus, nomine Doctoris maximi praeconio Ecclesiae est honestatus.—Ex eo tempore ad undecimum usque saeculum, quamquam huiusmodi contentio studiorum non pari atque antea ardore ac fructu vixit, vixit tamen, operâ praesertim hominum sacri ordinis. Curaverunt enim, aut quae veteres in hac re fructuosiora reliquissent deligere, eaque apte digesta de suisque aucta pervulgare, ut ab Isidoro Hispalensi, Beda, Alcuino factum est in primis; aut sacros codices illustrare glossis, ut Valafridus Strabo et Anselmus Laudunensis, aut eorumdem integritati novis curis consulere, ut Petrus Damianus et Lanfrancus fecerunt.—Saeculo autem duodecimo allegoricam Scripturae enarrationem bona cum laude plerique tractarunt: in eo genere S. Bernardus ceteris facile antecessit, cuius etiam sermones nihil prope nisi divinas Litteras sapiunt.—Sed nova et laetiora incrementa ex disciplina accessere *Scholasticorum*. Qui, etsi in germanam versionis latinae lectionem studuerunt inquirere, confectaque ab ipsis *Correctoria biblica* id plane testantur, plus tamen studii industriaeque in interpretatione et explanatione collocaverunt. Composite enim dilucideque, nihil ut melius antea, sacrorum verborum sensus varii distincti; cuiusque pondus in re theologica

perpensum; definitae librorum partes, argumenta partium; investigata scriptorum proposita; explicata sententiarum inter ipsas necessitudo et connexio: quibus ex rebus nemo unus non videt quantum sit luminis obscurioribus locis admotum. Ipsorum praeterea de Scripturis lectam doctrinae copiam admodum produnt, tum de theologia libri, tum in easdem commentaria; quo etiam nomine Thomas Aquinas inter eos habuit palmam.—Postquam vero Clemens V decessor Noster Athenaeum in Urbe et celeberrimas quasque studiorum Universitates litterarum orientalium magisteriis auxit, exquisitius homines nostri in nativo Bibliorum codice et in exemplari latino elaborare coeperunt. Reverta deinde ad nos eruditione Graecorum, multoque magis arte nova libraria feliciter inventa, cultus Scripturae sanctae latissime accrevit. Mirandum est enim quam brevi aetatis spatio multiplicata praelo sacra exemplaria, *vulgata* praecipue, catholicum orbem quasi compleverint: adeo per id ipsum tempus, contra quam Ecclesiae hostes calumniantur, in honore et amore erant divina volumina.—Neque praetereundum est, quantus doctorum virorum numerus, maxime ex religiosis familiis, a Viennensi Concilio ad Tridentinum, in rei biblicae bonum provenerit: qui et novis usi subsidiis et variae eruditionis ingeniique sui segetem conferentes, non modo auxerunt congestas maiorum opes, sed quasi munierunt viam ad praestantiam subsecuti saeculi, quod ab eodem Tridentino effluxit, quum nobilissima Patrum aetas propemodum rediisse visa est. Nec enim quisquam ignorat, Nobisque est memoratu iucundum, decessores Nostros, a Pio IV ad Clementem VIII, auctores fuisse ut insignes illae editiones adornarentur versionum veterum, Vulgatae et Alexandrinae; quae deinde, Sixti V eiusdemque Clementis iussu et auctoritate, emissae, in communi usu versantur. Per eadem autem tempora, notum est, quum versiones alias Bibliorum antiquas, tum polyglottas Antuerpiensem et Parisiensem, diligentissime esse editas, sinceræ investigandae sententiae peraptas: nec ullum esse utriusque Testamenti librum, qui non plus uno nactus sit bonum explanatorem, neque graviorem ullam de iisdem rebus quaestionem, quae non multorum ingenia fecundissime exerceat: quos inter non pauci, iique studiosiores Ss. Patrum, nomen sibi fecere eximium. Neque, ex illa demum aetate, desiderata est nostrorum sollertia; quum clari subinde viri de iisdem studiis bene sint meriti, sacrasque Litteras contra *rationalismi* commenta, ex philologia et finitimis disciplinis detorta, simili argumentorum genere vindicarint.—Haec omnia qui probe ut oportet considerent, dabunt profecto, Ecclesiam, nec ullo unquam providentiae modo defuisse, quo divinae Scripturae fontes in filios suos salutariter derivaret, atque illud praesidium, in quo divinitus ad eiusdem tutelam decusque

locata est, retinuisse perpetuo omnique studiorum ope exornasse, ut nullis externorum hominum incitamentis egerit, egeat.

Iam postulat a Nobis instituti consilii ratio, ut quae his de studiis recte ordinandis videantur optima, ea vobiscum communicemus, Venerabiles Fratres. Sed principio quale adversetur et instet hominum genus, quibus vel artibus vel armis confidant, interest utique hoc loco recognoscere.—Scilicet, ut antea cum iis praecipue res fuit qui privato iudicio freti, divinis traditionibus et magisterio Ecclesiae repudiatis, Scripturam statuerunt unicum revelationis fontem supremumque iudicem fidei; ita nunc est cum Rationalistis, qui eorum quasi filii et heredes, item sententia innixi sua, vel has ipsas a patribus acceptas christianae fidei reliquias prorsus abiecerunt. Divinam enim vel revelationem vel inspirationem vel Scripturam sacram, omnino ullam negant, neque alia prorsus ea esse dictitant, nisi hominum artificia et commenta: illas nimirum, non veras gestarum rerum narrationes, sed aut ineptas fabulas aut historias mendaces; ea, non vaticinia et oracula, sed aut confictas post eventus praedictiones aut ex naturali vi praesensiones; ea, non veri nominis miracula virtutisque divinae ostenta, sed admirabilia quaedam, nequaquam naturae viribus maiora, aut praestigias et mythos quosdam: evangelia et scripta apostolica aliis plane auctoribus tribuenda.—Huiusmodi portenta errorum, quibus sacrosanctam divinorum Librorum veritatem putant convelli, tamquam decretoria pronuntiata novae cuiusdam *scientiae liberae*, obtrudunt: quae tamen adeo incerta ipsimet habent, ut eisdem in rebus crebrius immutent et suppleant. Quum vero tam impie de Deo, de Christo, de Evangelio et reliqua Scriptura sentiant et praedicent, non desunt ex iis qui theologi et christiani et evangelici haberi velint, et honestissimo nomine obtendant insolentis ingenii temeritatem. His addunt sese consiliorum participes adiutoresque e ceteris disciplinis non pauci, quos eadem revelatarum rerum intolerantia ad oppugnationem Bibliorum similiter trahit. Satis autem deplorare non possumus, quam latius in dies acriusque haec oppugnatione geratur. Geritur in eruditos et graves homines, quamquam illi non ita difficulter sibi possunt cavere; at maxime contra indoctorum vulgus omni consilio et arte infensi hostes nituntur. Libris, libellis, diariis exitiale virus infundunt; id concionibus, id sermonibus insinuant; omnia iam pervasere, et multas tenent, abstractas ab Ecclesiae tutela, adolescentium scholas, ubi credulas mollesque mentes ad contempionem Scripturae, per ludibrium etiam et scurriles iocos, depravant misere.—Ista sunt, Venerabiles Fratres, quae commune pastorale studium permoveant, incendiant; ita ut huic

novae *falsi nominis scientiae*¹ antiqua illa et vera opponatur, quam a Christo per Apostolos accepit Ecclesia, atque in dimicatione tanta idonei defensores Scripturae sacrae exurgant.

Itaque ea prima sit cura, ut in sacris Seminariis vel Academiis sic omnino tradantur divinae Litterae, quemadmodum et ipsius gravitas disciplinae et temporum necessitas admonent. Cuius rei causâ, nihil profecto debet esse antiquius magistrorum delectione prudenti: ad hoc enim munus non homines quidem de multis, sed tales assumi oportet, quos magnus amor et diuturna consuetudo Bibliorum, atque opportunus doctrinae ornatus commendabiles faciat, pares officio. Neque minus prospiciendum mature est, horum postea locum qui sint excepturi. Iuverit idcirco, ubi commodum sit, ex alumnis optimae spei, theologiae spatium laudate emensis, nonnullos divinis Libris totos addici, facta eisdem plenioris cuiusdam studii aliquandiu facultate. Ita delecti institutique doctores, commissum munus adeant fidenter: in quo ut versentur optime et consentaneos fructus educant, aliqua ipsis documenta paulo explicatius impertire placet.—Ergo ingeniis tironum in ipso studii limine sic prospiciant, ut iudicium in eis, aptum pariter Libris divinis tuendis atque arripiendae ex ipsis sententiae, conforment sedulo et excolant. Huc pertinet tractatus *de introductione*, ut loquuntur, *biblica*, ex quo alumnus commodam habet opem ad integritatem auctoritatemque Bibliorum convincendam, ad legitimum in illis sensum investigandum et assequendum, ad occupanda captiosa et radicitus evellenda. Quae quanti momenti sit disposite scienterque, comite et adiutrice theologia, esse initio disputata, vix attinet dicere, quum tota continenter tractatio Scripturae reliqua hisce vel fundamentis nitatur vel luminibus clarescat.—Exinde in fructuosiore huius doctrinae partem, quae de interpretatione est, perstudiose incumbet praeceptoris opera; unde sit auditoribus, quo dein modo divini verbi divitias in profectum religionis et pietatis convertant. Intelligimus equidem, enarrari in scholis Scripturas omnes, nec per amplitudinem rei, nec per tempus licere. Verumtamen, quoniam certa opus est via interpretationis utiliter expediendae, utrumque magister prudens devitet incommodum, vel eorum qui de singulis libris cursim delibandum praebeant, vel eorum qui in certa unius parte immoderatus consistunt. Si enim in plerisque scholis adeo non poterit obtineri, quod in Academiis maioribus, ut unus aut alter liber continuatione quadam et ubertate exponatur, at magnopere efficiendum est, ut librorum partes ad interpretandum selectae tractationem habeant convenienter plenam: quo veluti specimine allekti discipuli et edocti, cetera ipsi perlegant adamentque in omni vita.

¹ 1 Tim. vi. 20.

Is porro, retinens instituta maiorum, exemplar in hoc sumet versionem vulgatam; quam Concilium Tridentinum in *publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, praedicationibus et expositionibus pro authentica* habendam decrevit,¹ atque etiam commendat quotidiana Ecclesiae consuetudo. Neque tamen non sua habenda erit ratio reliquarum versionum, quas christiana laudavit usurpavitque antiquitas, maxime codicum primigeniorum. Quamvis enim, ad summam rei quod spectat, ex dictionibus Vulgatae hebraea et graeca bene eluceat sententia, attamen si quid ambigue, si quid minus accurate inibi elatum sit, “inspectio praecedentis linguae,” suatore Augustino, proficiet.² Iamvero per se liquet, quam multum navitatis ad haec adhiberi oporteat, quum demum sit “commentatoris officium, non quid ipse velit, sed quid sentiat ille quem interpretetur, exponere.”³—Post expensam, ubi opus sit, omni industria lectionem, tum locus erit scrutandae et proponendae sententiae. Primum autem consilium est, ut probata communiter interpretandi praescripta tanto experrectiore observentur cura quanto morosior ab adversariis urget contentio. Propterea cum studio perpendendi quid ipsa verba valeant, quid consecutio rerum velit, quid locorum similitudo aut talia cetera, externa quoque appositae eruditionis illustratio societur: cauto tamen, ne istiusmodi quaestionibus plus temporis tribuatur et operae quam pernoscendis divinis Libris, neve corrogata multiplex rerum cognitio mentibus iuvenum plus incommodi afferat quam adiumenti.—Ex hoc, tutus erit gradus ad usum divinae Scripturae in re theologica. Quo in genere animadvertisse oportet, ad ceteras difficultatis causas, quae in quibusvis antiquorum libris intelligendis fere occurrunt, proprias aliquas in Libris sacris accedere. Eorum enim verbis, auctore Spiritu Sancto, res multae subiiciuntur quae humanae vim aciemque rationis longissime vincunt, divina scilicet mysteria et quae cum illis continentur alia multa; idque nonnunquam ampliore quadam et reconditiore sententia, quam exprimere littera et hermeneuticae leges indicare videantur: alios praeterea sensus, vel ad dogmata illustranda vel ad commendanda praecepta vitae, ipse literalis sensus profecto adsciscit. Quamobrem diffitendum non est religiosa quadam obscuritate sacros Libros involvi, ut ad eos, nisi aliquo viae duce, nemo ingredi possit:⁴ Deo quidem sic providente (quae vulgata est opinio Ss. Patrum), ut homines maiore cum desiderio et studio illos perscrutarentur, resque inde operose perceptas mentibus animisque altius infigerent; intelligerentque praecipue, Scrip-

¹ Sess. iv., *decr. de edit. et usu sacr. libror.*

² *De doct. chr.* iii. 4.

³ S. Hier. ad Pammach.

⁴ S. Hier. ad Paulin., *De studio Script.*, Ep. liii. 4.

turas Deum tradidisse Ecclesiae, qua scilicet duce et magistra in legendis tractandisque eloquiis suis certissima uterentur. Ubi enim charismata Domini posita sint, ibi discendam esse veritatem, atque ab illis, apud quos sit successio apostolica, Scripturas nullo cum periculo exponi, iam sanctus docuit Irenaeus:¹ cuius quidem ceterorumque Patrum doctrinam Synodus Vaticana amplexa est, quando Tridentinum decretum de divini verbi scripti interpretatione renovans, *hanc illius mentem esse declaravit, ut in rebus fidei et morum, ad aedificationem doctrinae christianae pertinentium, is pro vero sensu sacrae Scripturae habendus sit, quem tenuit ac tenet sancta Mater Ecclesia, cuius est iudicare de vero sensu et interpretatione Scripturarum sanctarum; atque ideo nemini licere contra hunc sensum aut etiam contra unanimum consensum Patrum ipsam Scripturam sacram interpretari.*²—Qua plena sapientiae lege nequam Ecclesia pervestigationem scientiae biblicae retardat aut coërcet; sed eam potius ab errore integram praestat, plurimumque ad veram adiuvat progressionem. Nam privato cuique doctori magnus patet campus, in quo, tutis vestigiis, sua interpretandi industria praeclare certet Ecclesiaeque utiliter. In locis quidem divinae Scripturae qui expositionem certam et definitam adhuc desiderant, effici ita potest, ex suavi Dei providentis consilio, ut, quasi praeparato studio, iudicium Ecclesiae maturetur: in locis vero iam definitis potest privatus doctor aequè prodesse, si eos vel enucleatus apud fidelium plebem et ingeniosius apud doctos edisserat, vel insignius evincat ab adversariis. Quapropter praecipuum sanctumque sit catholico interpreti, ut illa Scripturae testimonia, quorum sensus authentice declaratus est, aut per sacros auctores, Spiritu Sancto afflante, uti multis in locis novi Testamenti, aut per Ecclesiam, eodem Sancto adsistente Spiritu, *sive solemnè iudicio, sive ordinario et universali magisterio*,³ eadem ipse ratione interpretetur; atque ex adiumentis disciplinae suae convincat, eam solam interpretationem, ad sanae hermeneuticae leges, posse recte probari. In ceteris analogia fidei sequenda est, et doctrina catholica, qualis ex auctoritate Ecclesiae accepta, tamquam summa norma est adhibenda: nam, quum et sacrorum Librorum et doctrinae apud Ecclesiam depositae idem sit auctor Deus, profecto fieri nequit, ut sensus ex illis, qui ab hac quoquo modo discrepet, legitima interpretatione eruatur. Ex quo apparet, eam interpretationem ut ineptam et falsam reiiciendam, quae, vel inspiratos auctores inter se

¹ *C. haer.* iv. 26, 5.

² *Sess. iii., cap. ii., de revel.; cf. Conc. Trid., sess. iv., decr. de edit. et usu sacr. libror.*

³ *Conc. Vat., sess. iii., cap. iii., de fide.*

quodammodo pugnantes faciat, vel doctrinae Ecclesiae adversetur.—Huius igitur disciplinae magister hac etiam laude floreat oportet, ut omnem theologiam egregie teneat, atque in commentariis versatus sit Ss. Patrum Doctorumque et interpretum optimorum. Id sane inculcat Hieronymus,¹ multumque Augustinus, qui, iusta cum querela, “Si unaquaeque disciplina, inquit, quamquam vilis et facilis, ut percipi possit, doctorem aut magistrum requirit, quid temerariae superbiae plenius, quam divinorum sacramentorum libros ab interpretibus suis nolle cognoscere!”² Id ipsum sensere et exemplo confirmavere ceteri Patres, qui “divinarum Scripturarum intelligentiam, non ex propria praesumptione, sed ex maiorum scriptis et auctoritate sequebantur, quos et ipsos ex apostolica successione intelligendi regulam suscepisse constabat.”³—Iamvero Ss. Patrum, quibus “post Apostolos, sancta Ecclesia plantatoribus, rigatoribus, aedificatoribus, pastoribus, nutritoribus crevit,”⁴ summa auctoritas est, quotiescumque testimonium aliquod biblicum, ut ad fidei pertinens morumve doctrinam, uno eodemque modo explicant omnes: nam ex ipsa eorum consensione, ita ab Apostolis secundum catholicam fidem traditum esse nitide eminet. Eorumdem vero Patrum sententia tunc etiam magni aestimanda est, quum hisce de rebus munere doctorum quasi privatim funguntur; quippe quos, non modo scientia revelatae doctrinae et multarum notitia rerum, ad apostolicos libros cognoscendos utilium, valde commendet, verum Deus ipse, viros sanctimonia vitae et veritatis studio insignes, amplioribus luminis sui praesidiis adiuverit. Quare interpretes suum esse noverit, eorum et vestigia reverenter persequi et laboribus frui intelligenti delectu.—Neque ideo tamen viam sibi putet obstructam, quo minus, ubi iusta causa adfuerit, inquirendo et exponendo vel ultra procedat, modo praeceptioni illi, ab Augustino sapienter propositae, religiose obsequatur, videlicet a litterali et veluti obvio sensu minime discedendum, nisi qua eum vel ratio tenere prohibeat vel necessitas cogat dimittere:⁵ quae praeceptio eo tenenda est firmitus, quo magis, in tanta novitatum cupidine et opinionum licentia, periculum imminet aberrandi. Caveat idem ne illa negligat quae ab eisdem Patribus ad allegoricam similemve sententiam translata sunt, maxime quum ex litterali descendant et multorum auctoritate fulciantur. Talem enim interpretandi rationem ab Apostolis Ecclesia accepit, suoque ipsa exemplo, ut e re patet liturgica, comprobavit; non quod Patres ex ea contenderent

¹ *Ibid.* 6, 7.

² Ad Honorat., *De utilit. cred.* xvii. 35.

³ Rufin., *Hist. eccl.* ii. 9.

⁴ S. Aug. c. Iulian. ii. 10, 37.

⁵ *De Gen. ad litt.*, l. viii., c. 7, 13.

dogmata fidei per se demonstrare, sed quia bene frugiferam virtuti et pietati alendae nossent experti.—Ceterorum interpretum catholicorum est minor quidem auctoritas, attamen, quoniam Bibliorum studia continuum quemdam progressum in Ecclesia habuerunt, istorum pariter commentariis suis tribuendus est honor, ex quibus multa opportune peti liceat ad refellenda contraria, ad difficiliora enodanda. At vero id nimium dedecet, ut quis, egregiis operibus, quae nostri abunde reliquerunt, ignoratis aut despectis, heterodoxorum libros praeoptet, ab eisque cum praesenti sanae doctrinae periculo et non raro cum detrimento fidei, explicationem locorum quaerat, in quibus catholici ingenia et labores suos iamdudum optimeque collocarint. Licet enim hererodoxorum studiis, prudenter adhibitis, iuvare interdum possit interpres catholicus, meminerit tamen, ex crebris quoque veterum documentis,¹ incorruptum sacrarum Litterarum sensum extra Ecclesiam neutiquam reperiri, neque ab eis tradi posse, qui, verae fidei expertes, Scripturae, non medullam attingunt, sed corticem rodunt.²

Illud autem maxime optabile est et necessarium, ut eiusdem divinae Scripturae usus in universam theologiae influat disciplinam eiusque prope sit anima: ita nimirum omni aetate Patres atque praeclarissimi quique theologi professi sunt et re praestiterunt. Nam quae obiectum sunt fidei vel ab eo consequuntur, ex divinis potissime Litteris studuerunt asserere et stabilire; atque ex ipsis, sicut pariter ex divina traditione, nova haereticorum commenta refutare, catholicorum dogmatum rationem, intelligentiam, vincula exquirere. Neque id cuiquam fuerit mirum qui reputet, tam insignem locum inter revelationis fontes divinis Libris deberi, ut, nisi eorum studio usuque assiduo, nequeat theologia rite et pro dignitate tractari. Tametsi enim rectum est iuvenes in Academiis et scholis ita praecipue exerceri ut intellectum et scientiam dogmatum assequantur, ab articulis fidei argumentatione instituta ad alia ex illis, secundum normas probatae solidaeque philosophiae, concludenda; gravi tamen eruditoque theologo minime negligenda est ipsa demonstratio dogmatum ex Bibliorum auctoritatibus ducta: “Non enim accipit (theologia) sua principia ab aliis scientiis, sed immediate a Deo per revelationem. Et ideo non accipit ab aliis scientiis, tamquam a superioribus, sed utitur eis tamquam inferioribus et ancillis.” Quae sacrae doctrinae tradendae ratio praeceptorem commendatoremque habet theologorum principem, Aquinatem:³

¹ Cf. Clem. Alex., *Strom.* vii. 16; Orig., *De princ.* iv. 8; in *Levit. hom.* 4, 8; Tertull., *De praescr.* 15 seqq.; S. Hilar. Pict. in *Matth.* 13, 1.

² S. Greg. M., *Moral.* xx. 9 (al. 11).

³ *Summ. theol.*, p. 1, q. 1, a. 5 ad 2.

qui praeterea, ex hac bene perspecta christianae theologiae indole, docuit quemadmodum possit theologus sua ipsa principia, si qui ea forte impugnent, tueri: “Argumentando quidem, si adversarius aliquid concedat eorum, quae per divinam revelationem habentur; sicut per auctoritates sacrae Scripturae disputamus contra haereticos, et per unum articulum contra negantes alium. Si vero adversarius nihil credat eorum quae divinitus revelantur, non remanet amplius via ad probandum articulos fidei per rationes, sed ad solvendum rationes, si quas inducit contra fidem.”¹—Providendum igitur, ut ad studia biblica convenienter instructi munitique aggrediantur iuvenes; ne iustam frustrentur spem, neu, quod deterius est, erroris discrimen incaute subeant, Rationalistarum capti fallaciiis apparatusque specie eruditionis. Erunt autem optime comparati, si, quâ Nosmetipsi monstravimus et praescripsimus via, philosophiae et theologiae institutionem, eodem S. Thoma duce, religiose coluerint penitusque perceperint. Ita recte incedent, quum in re biblica, tum in ea theologiae parte quam *positivam* nominant, in utraque laetissime progressuri.

Doctrinam catholicam legitima et sollerti sacrorum Bibliorum interpretatione probasse, exposuisse, illustrasse, multum id quidem est: altera tamen, eaque tam gravis momenti quam operis laboriosi, pars remanet, ut ipsorum auctoritas integra quam validissime asseratur. Quod quidem nullo alio pacto plene licebit universeque assequi, nisi ex vivo et proprio magisterio Ecclesiae; quae *per se ipsa, ob suam nempe admirabilem propagationem, eximiam sancitatem et inexhaustam in omnibus bonis fecunditatem, ob catholicam unitatem, invictamque stabilitatem, magnum quoddam et perpetuum est motivum credibilitatis et divinae suae legationis testimonium irrefragabile.*² Quoniam vero divinum et infallibile magisterium Ecclesiae, in auctoritate etiam sacrae Scripturae consistit, huius propterea fides saltem humana asserenda in primis vindicandaque est: quibus ex libris, tamquam ex antiquitatis probatissimis testibus, Christi Domini divinitas et legatio, Ecclesiae hierarchicae institutio, primatus Petro et successoribus eius collatus, in tuto apertoque collocentur. Ad hoc plurimum sane conducet, si plures sint e sacro ordine paratiores, qui hac etiam in parte pro fide dimicent et impetus hostiles propulsent, induti praecipue armatura Dei, quam suadet Apostolus,³ neque vero ad nova hostium arma et praelia insueti. Quod pulcre in sacerdotum officiis sic recenset Chrysostomus: “Ingens adhibendum est studium ut *Christi verbum habitat in nobis abundanter*.”⁴ neque

¹ *Ibid.* a. 8.

³ Eph. vi. 13 *seqq.*

² Conc. Vat., sess. iii., c. iii., *de fide*.

⁴ Cf. Col. iii. 16.

enim ad unum pugnae genus parati esse debemus, sed multiplex est bellum et varii sunt hostes; neque iisdem omnes utuntur armis, neque uno tantum modo nobiscum congredi moliuntur. Quare opus est, ut is qui cum omnibus congressurus est, omnium machinas artesque cognititas habeat, ut idem sit sagittarius et funditor, tribunus et manipuli ductor, dux et miles, pedes et eques, navalis ac muralis pugnae peritus: nisi enim omnes dimicandi artes noverit, novit diabolus per unam partem, si sola negligatur, praedonibus suis immissis, oves diripere.”¹ Fallacias hostium artesque in hac re ad impugnandum multiplices supra adumbravimus: iam, quibus praesidiis ad defensionem nitendum, commoneamus.—Est primum in studio linguarum veterum orientalium simulque in arte quam vocant criticam. Utriusque rei scientia quum hodie in magno sit pretio et laude, eâ clerus, plus minusve pro locis et hominibus exquisita, ornatus, melius poterit decus et munus sustinere suum; nam ipse *omnia omnibus*² fieri debet, paratus semper *ad satisfactionem omni poscenti rationem de ea quae in ipso est spe*.³ Ergo sacrae Scripturae magistris necesse est atque theologos addecet, eas linguas cognititas habere quibus libri canonici sunt primitus ab hagiographis exarati, easdemque optimum factu erit si colant alumni Ecclesiae, qui praesertim ad academicos theologiae gradus aspirant. Atque etiam curandum ut omnibus in Academiis, quod iam in multis receptum laudabiliter est, de ceteris item antiquis linguis, maxime semiticis, deque congruente cum illis eruditione, sint magisteria, eorum in primis usui qui ad sacras Litteras profitendas designantur.—Hos autem ipsos, eiusdem rei gratiâ, doctiores esse oportet atque exercitiores in vera artis criticae disciplina: perperam enim et cum religionis damno inductum est artificium, nomine honestatum criticae sublimioris, quo, ex solis internis, uti loquuntur, rationibus, cuiuspiam libri origo, integritas, auctoritas diiudicata emergant. Contra perspicuum est, in quaestionibus rei historicae, cuiusmodi origo et conservatio librorum, historiae testimonia valere prae ceteris, eaque esse quam studiosissime et conquirenda et excutienda: illas vero rationes internas plerumque non esse tanti, ut in causam, nisi ad quamdam confirmationem, possint advocari. Secus si fiat, magna profecto consequentur incommoda. Nam hostibus religionis plus confidentiae futurum est ut sacrorum authenticitatem Librorum impetant et discerpant: illud ipsum quod extollunt genus criticae sublimioris, eo demum recidet, ut suum quisque studium praeiudicatamque opinionem interpretando sectentur: inde neque Scripturis quaesitum lumen accedet, neque ulla doctrinae oritura utilitas est, sed certa illa patebit

¹ *De sacerdotibus*. iv. 4.

² I Cor. ix. 22.

³ I Petr. iii. 15.

erroris nota, quae est varietas et dissimilitudo sentiendi, ut iam ipsi sunt documento huiusce novae principes disciplinae: inde etiam, quia plerique infecti sunt vanae philosophiae et rationalismi placitis, ideo prophetias, miracula, cetera quaecumque naturae ordinem superent, ex sacris Libris dimovere non verebuntur.—Congrediendum secundo loco cum iis, qui suâ physicorum scientia abusi, sacros Libros omnibus vestigiis indagant, unde auctoribus inscitiam rerum talium opponant, scripta ipsa vituperent. Quae quidem insimulationes quum res attingant sensibus obiectas, eo periculosiores accidunt, manantes in vulgus, maxime in deditam litteris iuventutem; quae, semel reverentiam divinae revelationis in uno aliquo capite exuerit, facile in omnibus omnem eius fidem est dimisura. Nimium sane constat, de natura doctrinam, quantum ad percipiendam summi Artificis gloriam in procreatis rebus impressam aptissima est, modo sit convenienter proposita, tantum posse ad elementa sanae philosophiae evellenda corrumpendosque mores, teneris animis perverse infusam. Quapropter Scripturae sacrae doctori cognitio naturalium rerum bono erit subsidio, quo huius quoque modi captiones in divinos Libros instructas facilius detegat et refellat.—Nulla quidem theologum inter et physicum vera dissensio intercesserit, dum suis uterque finibus se contineant, id caventes, secundum S. Augustini monitum, “ne aliquid temere et incognitum pro cognito asserant.”¹ Sin tamen dissenserint, quemadmodum se gerat theologus, summam est regula ab eodem oblata: “Quidquid, inquit, ipsi de natura rerum veracibus documentis demonstrare potuerint, ostendamus nostris Litteris non esse contrarium; quidquid autem de quibuslibet suis voluminibus his nostris Litteris, idest catholicae fidei, contrarium protulerint, aut aliqua etiam facultate ostendamus, aut nulla dubitatione credamus esse falsissimum.”² De cuius aequitate regulae in consideratione sit primum, scriptores sacros, seu verius “Spiritus Dei, qui per ipsos loquebatur, noluisse ista (videlicet intimam adspectabilium rerum constitutionem) docere homines, nulli saluti profutura”;³ quare eos, potius quam explorationem naturae recta persequantur, res ipsas aliquando describere et tractare aut quodam translationis modo, aut sicut communis sermo per ea ferebat tempora, hodieque de multis fert rebus in quotidiana vita, ipsos inter homines scientissimos. Vulgari autem sermone quum ea primo proprieque efferantur quae cadant sub sensus, non dissimiliter scriptor sacer (monuitque et Doctor Angelicus) “ea secutus

¹ *In Gen. op. imperf.* ix. 30.

² *De Gen. ad litt.* i. 21, 41.

³ S. Aug., *ib.* ii. 9, 20.

est, quae sensibilibiter apparent,”¹ seu quae Deus ipse, homines alloquens, ad eorum captum significavit humano more.—Quod vero defensione Scripturae sanctae agenda strenue est, non ex eo omnes aequae sententiae tuendae sunt, quas singuli Patres aut qui deinceps interpretes in eadem declaranda ediderint: qui, prout erant opiniones aetatis, in locis edisserendis ubi physica aguntur, fortasse non ita semper iudicaverunt ex veritate, ut quaedam posuerint, quae nunc minus probentur. Quocirca studiose dignoscendum in illorum interpretationibus, quaenam reapse tradant tamquam spectantia ad fidem aut cum ea maxime copulata, quaenam unanimi tradant consensu; namque “in his quae de necessitate fidei non sunt, licuit Sanctis diversimode opinari, sicut et nobis,” ut est S. Thomae sententia.² Qui et alio loco prudentissime habet: “Mihi videtur tutius esse, huiusmodi, quae philosophi communiter senserunt, et nostrae fidei non repugnant, nec sic esse asserenda ut dogmata fidei, etsi aliquando sub nomine philosophorum introducantur, nec sic esse neganda tamquam fidei contraria, ne sapientibus huius mundi occasio contemnendi doctrinam fidei praebeatur.”³ Sane, quamquam ea, quae speculatores naturae certis argumentis certa iam esse affirmarint, interpretes ostendere debet nihil Scripturis recte explicatis obsistere, ipsum tamen ne fugiat, factum quandoque esse, ut certa quaedam ab illis tradita, postea in dubitationem adducta sint et repudiata. Quod si physicorum scriptores terminos disciplinae suae transgressi, in provinciam philosophorum perversitate opinionum invadant, eas interpretes theologus philosophis mittat refutandas.—Haec ipsa deinde ad cognatas disciplinas, ad historiam praesertim, iuvabit transferri. Dolendum enim, multos esse qui antiquitatis monumenta, gentium mores et instituta, similibusque rerum testimonia magnis ii quidem laboribus perscrutentur et proferant, sed eo saepius consilio, ut erroris labes in sacris Libris deprehendant, ex quo illorum auctoritas usquequaque infirmetur et nutet. Idque nonnulli et nimis infesto animo faciunt nec satis aequo iudicio; qui sic fidunt profanis libris et documentis memoriae priscae, perinde ut nulla eis ne suspicio quidem erroris possit subesse, libris vero Scripturae sacrae, ex opinata tantum erroris specie, neque eâ probe discussa, vel parem abnuunt fidem. Fieri quidem potest, ut quaedam librariis in codicibus describendis minus recte exciderint; quod considerate iudicandum est, nec facile admittendum, nisi quibus locis rite sit demonstratum: fieri etiam potest, ut germana alicuius loci sententia permaneat anceps; cui enodandae multum afferent optimae interpretandi

¹ *Summa theol.*, p. i., q. lxx., a. 1 ad 3.

² *In Sent.* ii., *dist.* ii., q. i., a. 3.

³ *Opusc.* x.

regulae: at nefas omnino fuerit, aut inspirationem ad aliquas tantum sacrae Scripturae partes coangustare, aut concedere sacrum ipsum errasse auctorem. Nec enim toleranda est eorum ratio, qui ex istis difficultatibus sese expediunt, id nimirum dare non dubitantes, inspirationem divinam ad res fidei morumque, nihil praeterea, pertinere, eo quod falso arbitrentur, de veritate sententiarum quum agitur, non adeo exquirendum quatenam dixerit Deus, ut non magis perpendatur quam ob causam ea dixerit. Etenim libri omnes atque integri, quos Ecclesia tamquam sacros et canonicos recipit, cum omnibus suis partibus, Spiritu Sancto dictante, conscripti sunt; tantum vero abest ut divinae inspirationi error ullus subesse possit, ut ea per se ipsa, non modo errorem excludat omnem, sed tam necessario excludat et respuat, quam necessarium est, Deum, summam Veritatem, nullius omnino erroris auctorem esse.—Haec est antiqua et constans fides Ecclesiae, sollemni etiam sententia in Conciliis definita Florentino et Tridentino; confirmata denique atque expressius declarata in Concilio Vaticano, a quo absolute edictum: *Veteris et novi Testamenti libri integri cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in eiusdem Concilii (Tridentini) decreto recensentur, et in veteri vulgata latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis suscipiendi sunt. Eos vero Ecclesia pro sacris et canonicis habet, non ideo quod sola humana industria concinnati, sua deinde auctoritate sint approbati; nec ideo dumtaxat, quod revelationem sine errore contineant; sed propterea quod Spiritu Sancto inspirante conscripti, Deum habent auctorem.*¹ Quare nihil admodum refert, Spiritum Sanctum assumpsisse homines tamquam instrumenta ad scribendum, quasi, non quidem primario auctori, sed scriptoribus inspiratis quidpiam falsi elabi potuerit. Nam supernaturali ipse virtute ita eos ad scribendum excitavit et movit, ita scribentibus adstitit, ut ea omnia eaque sola quae ipse iuberet, et recte mente conciperent, et fideliter conscribere vellent, et apte infallibili veritate exprimerent: secus, non ipse esset auctor sacrae Scripturae universae. Hoc ratum semper habuere Ss. Patres: “Itaque, ait Augustinus, quum illi scripserunt quae ille ostendit et dixit, nequaquam dicendum est, quod ipse non scripserit: quandoquidem membra eius id operata sunt, quod dictante capite cognoverunt”:² pronunciatque S. Gregorius M.: “Quis haec scripserit, valde supervacanee quaeritur, quum tamen auctor libri Spiritus Sanctus fideliter credatur. Ipse igitur haec scripsit, qui scribenda dictavit: ipse scripsit qui et in illius opere inspirator extitit.”³ Consequitur, ut qui in locis authenticis Librorum sacrorum quid-

¹ Sess. iii., c. ii., *de revel.*

² *De consensu Evangel.*, l. i, c. 35.

³ *Praef. in Iob*, n. 2.

piam falsi contineri posse existiment, ii profecto aut catholicam divinae inspirationis notionem pervertant, aut Deum ipsum erroris faciant auctorem. Atque adeo Patribus omnibus et Doctoribus persuasissimum fuit, divinas Litteras, quales ab hagiographis editae sunt, ab omni omino errore esse immunes, ut propterea non pauca illa, quae contrarii aliquid vel dissimile viderentur afferre (eademque fere sunt quae nomine novae scientiae nunc obiciunt), non subtiliter minus quam religiose componere inter se et conciliare studuerint; professi unanimes, Libros eos et integros et per partes a divino aequae esse afflatu, Deumque ipsum per sacros auctores elocutum nihil admodum a veritate alienum ponere potuisse. Ea valeant universe quae idem Augustinus ad Hieronymum scripsit: “Ego enim fateor caritati tuae, solis eis Scripturarum libris qui iam canonici appellantur, didici hunc timorem honoremque deferre, ut nullum eorum auctorum scribendo aliquid errasse firmissime credam. Ac si aliquid in eis offendero litteris quod videatur contrarium veritati, nihil aliud quam vel mendosum esse codicem, vel interpretem non assecutum esse quod dictum est, vel me minime intellexisse non ambigam.”¹

At vero omni graviorum artium instrumento pro sanctitate Bibliorum plene perfecteque contendere, multo id maius est, quam ut a sola interpretum et theologorum sollertia aequum sit expectari. Eodem optandum est conspirent et connitantur illi etiam ex catholicis viris, qui ab externis doctrinis aliquam sint nominis auctoritatem adepti. Horum sane ingeniorum ornatus, si nunquam antea, ne nunc quidem, Dei beneficio, Ecclesiae deest; atque utinam eo amplius in fidei subsidium augeat. Nihil enim magis oportere ducimus, quam ut plures validioresque nanciscatur veritas propugnatores, quam sentiat adversarios; neque res ulla est quae magis persuadere vulgo possit obsequium veritatis, quam si eam liberrime profiteantur qui in laudata aliqua praestent facultate. Quin facile etiam cessura est obtrectatorum invidia, aut certe non ita petulanter iam traducere illi audebunt inimicam scientiae, fidem, quum viderint a viris scientiae laude nobilibus summum fidei honorem reverentiamque adhiberi.—Quoniam igitur tantum ii possunt religioni importare commodi, quibus cum catholicae professionis gratia felicem indolem ingenii benignum Numen impertiit, ideo in hac acerrima agitatione studiorum quae Scripturas quoquo modo attingunt, aptum sibi quisque eligant studii genus, in quo aliquando excellentes, obiecta in illas improbae scientiae tela, non sine gloria, repellant.—Quo loco gratum est illud pro merito comprobare nonnullorum catholicorum consilium, qui ut viris doctioribus suppetere possit unde huiusmodi studia

¹ *Ep. lxxxii. 1, et crebrius alibi.*

omni adiumentorum copia pertractent et provehant, coactis societatibus, largiter pecunias solent conferre. Optima sane et peropportuna temporibus pecuniae collocandae ratio. Quo enim catholicis minus praesidii in sua studia sperare licet publice, eo promptiorem effusiolemque patere decet privatorum liberalitatem; ut quibus a Deo aucti sunt divitiis, eas ad tutandum revelatae ipsius doctrinae thesaurum velint convertere.—Tales autem labores ut ad rem biblicam vere proficiant, insistant eruditi in iis tamquam principiis, quae supra a Nobis praefinita sunt; fideliterque teneant, Deum, conditorem rectoremque rerum omnium, eundem esse Scripturarum auctorem: nihil propterea ex rerum natura, nihil ex historiae monumentis colligi posse quod cum Scripturis revera pugnet. Si quid ergo tale videatur, id sedulo submovendum, tum adhibito prudenti theologorum et interpretum iudicio, quidnam verius verisimiliusve habeat Scripturae locus, de quo disceptetur, tum diligentius expensa argumentorum vi, quae contra adducantur. Neque ideo cessandum, si qua in contrarium species etiam tum resideat; nam, quoniam verum vero adversari haudquaquam potest, certum sit aut in sacrorum interpretationem verborum, aut in alteram disputationis partem errorem incurrisse: neutrum vero si necdum satis appareat, cunctandum interea de sententia. Permulta enim ex omni doctrinarum genere sunt diu multumque contra Scripturam iactata, quae nunc, utpote inania, penitus obsolevere: item non pauca de quibusdam Scripturae locis (non proprie ad fidei morumque pertinentibus regulam) sunt quondam interpretando proposita, in quibus rectius postea vidit acrior quaedam investigatio. Nempe opinionum commenta delet dies; sed “veritas manet et invalescit in aeternum.”¹ Quare, sicut nemo sibi arrogaverit ut omnem recte intelligat Scripturam, in qua se ipse plura nescire quam scire fassus est Augustinus,² ita, si quid inciderit difficilius quam explicari possit, quisque eam sumet cautionem temperationemque eiusdem Doctoris: “Melius est vel premi incognitis sed utilibus signis, quam inutiliter ea interpretando, a iugo servitutis eductam cervicem laqueis erroris inserere.”³—Consilia et iussa Nostra si probe verecundeque erunt secuti qui subsidiaria haec studia profitentur, si et scribendo et docendo studiorum fructus dirigant ad hostes veritatis redarguendos, ad fidei damna in iuventute praecavenda, tum demum laetari poterunt dignâ se opera sacris Litteris inservire, eamque rei catholicae opem afferre, qualem de filiorum pietate et doctrinis iure sibi Ecclesia pollicetur.

Haec sunt, Venerabiles Fratres, quae de studiis Scripturae

¹ 3 Esdr. iv. 38.

² Ad Ianuar., *Ep.* lv. 21.

³ *De doctr. chr.*, iii. 9, 18.

sacrae pro opportunitate monenda et praecipienda, aspirante Deo, censuimus. Iam sit vestrum curare, ut qua par est religione custodiantur et observentur: sic ut debita Deo gratia, de communicatis humano generi eloquiis sapientiae suae, testatius eniteat, optataeque utilitates redundant, maxime ad sacrae iuventutis institutionem, quae tanta est cura Nostra et spes Ecclesiae. Auctoritate nimirum et hortatione dare alacres operam, ut in Seminariis, atque in Academiis quae parent ditioni vestrae, haec studia iusto in honore consistant vigeantque. Integre feliciterque vigeant, moderatrice Ecclesia, secundum saluberrima documenta et exempla Ss. Patrum laudatamque maiorum consuetudinem: atque talia ex temporum cursu incrementa accipiant quae vere sint in praesidium et gloriam catholicae veritatis, natae divinitus ad perennem populorum salutem.— Omnes denique alumnos et administros Ecclesiae paterna caritate admonemus, ut ad sacras Litteras adeant summo semper affectu reverentiae et pietatis: nequaquam enim ipsarum intelligentia salutariter ut opus est patere potest, nisi remotâ scientiae *terrenae* arrogantia, studioque sancte excitato eius *quae desursum est* sapientiae. Cuius in disciplinam semel admissa mens, atque inde illustrata et roborata, mire valebit ut etiam humanae scientiae quae sunt fraudes dignoscat et vitet, qui sunt solidi fructus percipiat et ad aeterna referat: inde potissime exardescens animus, ad emolumenta virtutis et divini amoris spiritu vehementiore contendet: *Beati qui scrutantur testimonia eius, in toto corde exquirunt eum.*¹

Iam divini auxilii spe freti et pastoralis studio vestro confisi, Apostolicam benedictionem, caelestium munerum auspicem Nostraeque singularis benevolentiae testem, vobis omnibus, universoque Clero et populo singulis concedito, peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XVIII novembris anno MDCCCXIII, Pontificatus Nostri sextodecimo.

LEO PP. XIII.

¹ Ps. xviii. 2.

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, NEW YORK

APPENDIX B

RESPONSA A PONTIFICIA COMMISSIONE DE RE BIBLICA EDITA

1. DIE 13 FEBRUARII 1905

CIRCA CITATIONES IMPLICITAS IN S. SCRIPTURA CONTENTAS

Cum ad normam directivam habendam pro studiosis Sacrae Scripturae proposita fuerit Commissioni Pontificiae de Re Biblica sequens quaestio, videlicet :

Utrum ad enodandas difficultates quae occurrunt in nonnullis S. Scripturae textibus, qui facta historica referre videntur, liceat Exegetae catholico asserere agi in his de citatione tacita vel implicita documenti ab auctore non inspirato conscripti, cuius adserta omnia auctor inspiratus minime adprobare aut sua facere intendit, quaeque ideo ab errore immunia haberi non possunt ?

Praedicta Commissio respondendum censuit :

Negative, excepto casu in quo, salvis sensu ac iudicio Ecclesiae, solidis argumentis probetur : 1° Hagiographum alterius dicta vel documenta revera citare; et 2° eadem nec probare, nec sua facere, ita ut iure censeatur non proprio nomine loqui.

Die autem 13 Februarii anni 1905 Sanctissimus, referente me infrascripto Consultore ab Actis, praedictum responsum adprobavit atque publici iuris fieri mandavit.

FR. DAVID FLEMING, O.F.M.
Consultor ab Actis.

2. DIE 23 IUNII 1905

DE NARRATIONIBUS SPECIETENUS TANTUM HISTORICIS
IN S. SCRIPTURAE LIBRIS QUI PRO HISTORICIS HABENTUR

Proposito sequenti dubio Consilium Pontificium pro studiis de Re Biblica provehendis respondendum censuit prout sequitur :

Dubium. Utrum admitti possit tamquam principium rectae exegeseos sententia quae tenet S. Scripturae libros qui pro historicis habentur, sive totaliter sive ex parte, non historiam proprie dictam et obiective veram quandoque narrare, sed

speciem tantum historiae prae se ferre ad aliquid significandum a proprie litterali seu historica verborum significatione alienum ?

Resp. Negative, excepto tamen casu, non facile nec temere admittendo, in quo, Ecclesiae sensu non refragante eiusque salvo iudicio, solidis argumentis probetur Hagiographum voluisse non veram et proprie dictam historiam tradere, sed sub specie et forma historiae parabolam, allegoriam, vel sensum aliquem a proprie litterali seu historica verborum significatione remotum proponere.

Die autem 23 Iunii a. c. [1905] in audientia ambobus Reverendissimis Consultoribus ab Actis benigne concessa Sanctissimus praedictum responsum ratum habuit ac publici iuris fieri mandavit.

FR. DAVID FLEMING, O.F.M.
Consultor ab Actis.

3. DIE 27 IUNII 1906

DE MOSAICA AUTHENTIA PENTATEUCHI

Propositis sequentibus dubiis Consilium Pontificium pro studiis de Re Biblica provehendis respondendum censuit prout sequitur :

I. Utrum argumenta a criticis congesta ad impugnandam authentiam mosaicam sacrorum librorum, qui Pentateuchi nomine designantur, tanti sint ponderis, ut posthabitis quampluribus testimoniis utriusque Testamenti collective sumptis, perpetua consensione populi iudaici, Ecclesiae quoque constanti traditione necnon indiciis internis quae ex ipso textu eruuntur, ius tribuant affirmandi hos libros non Moysen habere auctorem, sed ex fontibus maxima ex parte aetate mosaica posterioribus fuisse confectos ?

Resp. Negative.

II. Utrum mosaica authentia Pentateuchi talem necessario postulet redactionem totius operis, ut prorsus tenendum sit Moysen omnia et singula manu sua scripsisse vel ammanuensibus dictasse; an etiam eorum hypothesis permitti possit qui existimant eum opus ipsum a se sub divinae inspirationis afflatu conceptum alteri vel pluribus scribendum commisisse, ita tamen ut sensa sua fideliter redderent, nihil contra suam voluntatem scriberent, nihil omitterent; ac tandem opus hac ratione confectum, ab eodem Moyse principe inspiratoque auctore probatum, ipsiusmet nomine vulgaretur ?

Resp. Negative ad primam partem, affirmative ad secundam.

III. Utrum absque praeiudicio mosaicae authentiae Pentateuchi concedi possit Moysen ad suum conficiendum opus fontes adhibuisse, scripta videlicet documenta vel orales traditiones,

ex quibus, secundum peculiarem scopum sibi propositum et sub divinae inspirationis afflatu, nonnulla hauserit eaque ad verbum vel quoad sententiam, contracta vel amplificata ipsi operi inseruerit?

Resp. Affirmative.

IV. Utrum, salva substantialiter mosaica authenticia et integritate Pentateuchi, admitti possit tam longo saeculorum decursu nonnullas ei modificationes obvenisse, uti: additamenta post Moysi mortem vel ab auctore inspirato apposita, vel glossas et explicationes textui interiectas; vocabula quaedam et formas e sermone antiquato in sermonem recentiorem translata; mendosas demum lectiones vitio ammanuensium adscribendas, de quibus fas sit ad normas artis criticae disquirere et iudicare?

Resp. Affirmative, salvo Ecclesiae iudicio.

Die autem 27 Iunii anni 1906, in audientia Reverendissimis Consultoribus ab Actis benigne concessa, Sanctissimus praedicta responsa adprobavit ac publici iuris fieri mandavit.

FULCRANUS G. VIGOUROUX, P.S.S.

LAURENTIUS JANSSENS, O.S.B.

Consultores ab Actis.

4. DIE 29 MAII 1907

DE AUCTORE ET VERITATE HISTORICA QUARTI EVANGELII

Propositis sequentibus dubiis Commissio Pontificia de Re Biblica sequenti modo respondit:

Dubium I. Utrum ex constanti, universali ac sollemni Ecclesiae traditione iam a saeculo II decurrente, prout maxime eruitur: (a) ex SS. Patrum, scriptorum ecclesiasticorum, immo etiam haereticorum, testimoniis et allusionibus, quae, cum ab Apostolorum discipulis vel primis successoribus derivasse oportuerit, necessario nexu cum ipsa libri origine cohaerent; (b) ex recepto semper et ubique nomine auctoris quarti Evangelii in canone et catalogis sacrorum librorum; (c) ex eorundem librorum vetustissimis manuscriptis codicibus et in varia idiomata versionibus; (d) ex publico usu liturgico inde ab Ecclesiae primordiis toto orbe obtinente; praescindendo ab argumento theologico, tam solido argumento historico demonstretur Iohannem Apostolum et non alium quarti Evangelii auctorem esse agnoscendum, ut rationes a criticis in oppositum adductae hanc traditionem nullatenus infirmant?

Resp. Affirmative.

Dubium II. Utrum etiam rationes internae quae eruuntur ex textu quarti Evangelii seiunctim considerato, ex scribentis

testimonio et Evangelii ipsius cum prima epistula Iohannis Apostoli manifesta cognatione, censendae sint confirmare traditionem quae eidem Apostolo quartum Evangelium indubitanter attribuit?—Et utrum difficultates quae ex collatione ipsius Evangelii cum aliis tribus desumuntur, habita prae oculis diversitate temporis, scopi et auditorum pro quibus vel contra quos auctor scripsit, solvi rationabiliter possint, prout SS. Patres et exegetae catholici passim praestiterunt?

Resp. Affirmative ad utramque partem.

Dubium. III. Utrum, non obstante praxi quae a primis temporibus in universa Ecclesia constantissime viguit, arguendi ex quarti Evangelio tamquam ex documento proprie historico, considerata nihilominus indole peculiari eiusdem Evangelii et intentione auctoris manifesta illustrandi et vindicandi Christi divinitatem ex ipsis factis et sermonibus Domini, dici possit facta narrata in quarto Evangelio esse totaliter vel ex parte conficta ad hoc ut sint allegoriae vel symbola doctrinalia, sermones vero Domini non proprie et vere esse ipsius Domini sermones, sed compositiones theologicas scriptoris, licet in ore Domini positas?

Resp. Negative.

Die autem 29 Maii anni 1907, in audientia ambobus Reverendissimis Consultoribus ab Actis benigne concessa, Sanctissimus praedicta responsa rata habuit ac publici iuris fieri mandavit.

FULCRANUS VIGOUROUX, P.S.S.
LAURENTIUS JANSSENS, O.S.B.
Consultores ab Actis.

5. DIE 28 IUNII 1908

DE LIBRI ISAIAE INDOLE ET AUCTORE

Propositis sequentibus dubiis Commissio Pontificia de Re Biblica sequenti modo respondit:

Dubium I. Utrum doceri possit, vaticinia quae legentur in libro Isaiae,—et passim in Scripturis,—non esse veri nominis vaticinia, sed vel narrationes post eventum confictas, vel, si ante eventum praenuntiatum quidpiam agnosci opus sit, id prophetam non ex supernaturali Dei futurorum praescii revelatione, sed ex his quae iam contigerunt, felici quadam sagacitate et naturali ingenii acumine, coniciendo praenuntiasse?

Resp. Negative.

Dubium II. Utrum sententia quae tenet, Isaiam ceterosque prophetas vaticinia non edidisse nisi de his quae in continenti vel post non grande temporis spatium eventura erant, conciliari possit cum vaticiniis, imprimis messianicis et eschatologicis, ab

eisdem prophetis de longinquo certo editis, necnon cum communi SS. Patrum sententia concorditer adserentium, prophetas ea quoque praedixisse, quae post multa saecula essent implenda?

Resp. Negative.

Dubium III. Utrum admitti possit, prophetas non modo tamquam correctores pravitatis humanae divinique verbi in perfectum audientium pravcones, verum etiam tamquam praenuntios eventuum futurorum, constanter alloqui debuisse auditores non quidem futuros, sed praesentes et sibi aequales, ita ut ab ipsis plane intellegi potuerint; proindeque secundam partem libri Isaiae (cap. 40-66), in qua vates non Iudaeos Isaiae aequales, at Iudaeos in exsilio babylonico iugentes veluti inter ipsos vivens alloquitur et solatur, non posse ipsum Isaiam iamdiu emortuum auctorem habere, sed oportere eam ignoto cuidam vati inter exsules viventi assignare?

Resp. Negative.

Dubium IV. Utrum, ad impugnandam identitatem auctoris libri Isaiae, argumentum philologicum, ex lingua stiloque desumptum, tale sit censendum, ut virum gravem, criticae artis et hebraicae linguae peritum, cogat in eodem libro pluralitatem auctorum agnoscere?

Resp. Negative.

Dubium V. Utrum solida prostent argumenta, etiam cumulative sumpta, ad evincendum Isaiae librum non ipsi soli Isaiae, sed duobus, immo pluribus auctoribus essetribuendum?

Resp. Negative.

Die autem 28 Iunii 1908, in audientia ambobus Reverendissimis Consultoribus ab Actis benigne concessa, Sanctissimus praedicta responsa rata habuit ac publici iuris fieri mandavit.

Romae, die 28 Iunii 1908.

FULCRANUS VIGOUROUX, P.S.S.

LAURENTIUS JANSSENS, O.S.B.

Consultores ab Actis.

6. DIE 15 FEBRUARII 1909

DE ORGANO OFFICIALI COMMISSIONIS PONTIFICIAE DE RE
BIBLICA

Cum de expressa voluntate SS. D. N. Pii PP. X *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* typis Vaticanis edita, sint unicum *Commentarium officiale* ad "Constitutiones Pontificias, leges, decreta, aliaque tum Romanorum Pontificum tum sacrarum Congregationum et Officiorum scita legitime promulganda et evulganda," Eminentissimi DD. Cardinales Commissioni Pontificiae de Re

Biblica addicti in coetu 14 Februarii huius anni in aedibus Vaticanis habito, statuerunt ut praedicta Commissio ad actus suos publici iuris faciendos nullo alio deinceps promulgationis organo uteretur.

Romae, die 15 Februarii anno 1909.

FULCRANUS VIGOUROUX, P.S.S.
LAURENTIUS JANSSENS, O.S.B.
Consultores ab Actis.

7. DIE 30 IUNII 1909

DE CHARACTERE HISTORICO TRIUM PRIORUM CAPITUM GENESEOS

I. Utrum varia systemata exegetica, quae ad excludendum sensum litteralem historicum trium priorum capitum libri Geneseos excogitata et scientiae fuco propugnata sunt, solido fundamento fulciantur ?

Resp. Negative.

II. Utrum non obstantibus indole et forma historica libri Geneseos, peculiari trium priorum capitum inter se et cum sequentibus capitibus nexu, multiplici testimonio Scripturarum tum Veteris tum Novi Testamenti, unanimi fere sanctorum Patrum sententia ac traditionali sensu, quem, ab israelitico etiam populo transmissum, semper tenuit Ecclesia, doceri possit, praedicta tria capita Geneseos continere non rerum vere gestarum narrationes, quae scilicet obiectivae realitati et historicae veritati respondeant; sed vel fabulosa ex veterum populorum mythologiis et cosmogoniis deprompta et ab auctore sacro, expurgato quovis polytheismi errore, doctrinae monotheisticae accomodata; vel allegorias et symbola, fundamento obiectivae realitatis destituta, sub historiae specie ad religiosas et philosophicas veritates inculcandas proposita; vel tandem legendas ex parte historicas et ex parte fictitias ad animorum instructionem et aedificationem libere compositas ?

Resp. Negative ad utramque partem.

III. Utrum speciatim sensus litteralis historicus vocari in dubium possit, ubi agitur de factis in eisdem capitibus enarratis, quae christianae religionis fundamenta attingunt: uti sunt, inter cetera, rerum universarum creatio a Deo facta in initio temporis; peculiaris creatio hominis; formatio primae mulieris ex primo homine; generis humani unitas; originalis protoparentum felicitas in statu iustitiae, integritatis et immortalitatis; praeceptum a Deo homini datum ad eius oboedientiam probandam; divini praecepti, diabolo sub serpentis specie suasore,

transgressio; protoparentum deiectio ab illo promaevo innocentiae statu; nec non Reparatoris futuri promissio?

Resp. Negative.

IV. Utrum in interpretandis illis horum capitum locis, quos Patres et Doctores diverso modo intellexerunt, quin certi quidpiam definitique tradiderint, liceat, salvo Ecclesiae iudicio servataque fidei analogia, eam quam quisque prudenter probaverit, sequi tuerique sententiam?

Resp. Affirmative.

V. Utrum omnia et singula, verba videlicet et phrases, quae in praedictis capitibus occurrunt, semper et necessario accipienda sint sensu proprio, ita ut ab eo discedere numquam liceat, etiam cum locutiones ipsae manifesto appareant improprie seu metaphorice vel anthropomorphice usurpatae, et sensum proprium vel ratio tenere prohibeat vel necessitas cogat dimittere?

Resp. Negative.

VI. Utrum, praesupposito litterali et historico sensu, nonnullorum locorum eorumdem capitum interpretatio allegorica et prophetica, praefulgente sanctorum Patrum et Ecclesiae ipsius exemplo, adhiberi sapienter et utiliter possit?

Resp. Affirmative.

VII. Utrum, cum in conscribendo primo Geneseos capite non fuerit sacri auctoris mens intimam adspectabilium rerum constitutionem ordinemque creationis completum scientifico more docere, sed potius suae genti tradere notitiam popularem, prout communis sermo ferebat per ea tempora, sensibus et captui hominum accommodatam, sit in horum interpretatione adamussim semperque investiganda scientifici sermonis proprietas?

Resp. Negative.

VIII. Utrum in illa sex dierum denominatione atque distinctione, de quibus in Geneseos capite primo, sumi possit vox *yôm* (dies) sive sensu proprio pro die naturali, sive sensu improprio pro quodam temporis spatio, deque huiusmodi quaestione libere inter exegetas disceptare liceat?

Resp. Affirmative.

Die autem 30 Iunni anni 1900, in audientia ambobus Reverendissimis Consultoribus ab Actis benigne concessa, Sanctissimus praedicta responsa rata habuit ac publici iuris fieri mandavit.

Romae, die 30 Iunii 1909.

FULCRANUS VIGOUROUX, P.S.S.
LAURENTIUS JANSSENS, O.S.B.
Consultores ab Actis.

8. DIE 1 MAII 1910

DE AUCTORIBUS ET DE TEMPORE COMPOSITIONIS
PSALMORUM

I. Utrum appellationes *Psalmi David*, *Hymni David*, *Liber Psalmorum David*, *Psalterium Davidicum*, in antiquis collectionibus et in Conciliis ipsis usurpatae ad designandum Veteris Testamenti librum CL Psalmorum, sicut etiam plurium Patrum et Doctorum sententia, qui tenuerent omnes prorsus Psalterii psalmos uni David esse adscribendos, tantam vim habeant, ut Psalterii totius unicus auctor David haberi debeat?

Resp. Negative.

II. Utrum ex concordantia textus hebraici cum graeco textu alexandrino aliisque vetustis versionibus argui iure possit, titulos psalmorum hebraico textui praefixos antiquiores esse versione sic dicta LXX virorum; ac proinde si non directe ab auctoribus ipsis psalmorum, a vetusta saltem iudaica traditione derivasse?

Resp. Affirmative.

III. Utrum praedicti psalmorum tituli, iudaicae traditionis testes, quando nulla ratio gravis est contra eorum genuinitatem, prudenter possint in dubium revocari?

Resp. Negative.

IV. Utrum, si considerentur Sacrae Scripturae haud infrequentia testimonia circa naturalem Davidis peritiam, Spiritus Sancti charismate illustratam in componendis carminibus religiosis, institutiones ab ipso conditae de cantu psalmorum liturgico, attributiones psalmorum ipsi factae tum in Veteri Testamento, tum in Novo, tum in ipsis inscriptionibus, quae psalmis ab antiquo praefixae sunt; insuper consensus Iudaeorum, Patrum et Doctorum Ecclesiae, pruden ter denegari possit, praecipuum Psalterii carminum Davidem esse auctorem, vel contra affirmari pauca dumtaxat eidem regio psalti carmina esse tribuenda?

Resp. Negative ad utramque partem.

V. Utrum in specie de negari possit davidica origo eorum psalmorum qui in Veteri vel Novo Testamento diserte sub Davidis nomine citantur, inter quos prae ceteris recensendi veniunt Ps. 2 *Quare fremuerunt gentes*; Ps. 15 *Conserva me, Domine*; Ps. 17 *Diligam te, Domine, fortitudo mea*; Ps. 31 *Beati quorum remissae sunt iniquitates*; Ps. 68 *Salvum me fac, Deus*; Ps. 109 *Dixit Dominus Domino meo*?

Resp. Negative.

VI. Utrum sententia eorum admitti possit qui tenent inter Psalterii psalmos nonnullos esse sive Davidis sive aliorum auctorum, qui propter rationes liturgicas et musicales, oscitantiam ammanuensium aliasve incompertas causas in plures fuerint divisi vel in unum coniuncti; itemque alios esse psalmos, uti *Miserere mei, Deus*, qui ut melius aptarentur circumstantiis historicis vel sollemnitatibus populi iudaici, leviter fuerint retractati vel modificati, subtractione aut additione unius alteriusve versiculi, salva tamen totius textus sacri inspiratione?

Resp. Affirmative ad utramque partem.

VII. Utrum sententia eorum inter recentiores scriptorum, qui indiciis dumtaxat internis innixi vel minus recta sacri textus interpretatione demonstrari conati sunt non paucos esse psalmos post tempora Esdrae et Nehemiae, quinimmo aevo Machabaeorum, compositos, probabiliter sustineri possit?

Resp. Negative.

VIII. Utrum ex multiplici sacrorum librorum Novi Testamenti testimonio et unanimi Patrum consensu, fatentibus etiam iudaicae gentis scriptoribus, plures agnoscendi sint psalmi prophetici et messianici, qui futuri Liberatoris adventum, regnum, sacerdotium, passionem, mortem et resurrectionem vaticinati sunt; ac proinde reicienda prorsus eorum sententia sit, qui indolem psalmorum propheticam ac messianicam pervertentes, eadem de Christo oracula ad futuram tantum sortem populi electi praenuntiandam coarctant?

Resp. Affirmative ad utramque partem.

Die autem 1 Maii 1910, in audientia utrique Reverendissimo Consultori ab Actis benigne concessa, Sanctissimus praedicta responsa rata habuit ac publici iuris fieri mandavit.

Romae, die 1 Maii 1910.

FULCRANUS VIGOUROUX, P.S.S.
LAURENTIUS JANSSENS, O.S.B.
Consultores ab Actis.

9. DIE 19 IUNII 1911

DE AUCTORE, DE TEMPORE COMPOSITIONIS ET DE HISTORICA
VERITATE EVANGELII SECUNDUM MATTHAEUM

Propositis sequentibus dubiis Pontificia Commissio de Re Biblica ita respondendum decrevit:

I. Utrum, attento universali et a primis saeculis constanti Ecclesiae consensu, quem luculenter ostendunt diserta Patrum

testimonia, codicum Evangeliorum inscriptiones, Sacrorum Librorum versiones vel antiquissimae et catalogi a Sanctis Patribus, ab ecclesiasticis scriptoribus, a Summis Pontificibus et Conciliis traditi, ac tandem usus liturgicus Ecclesiae orientalis et occidentalis, affirmari certo possit et debeat Matthaeum, Christi Apostolum, revera Evangelii sub eius nomine vulgati esse auctorem ?

Resp. Affirmative.

II. Utrum traditionis suffragio satis fulciri censenda sit sententia quae tenet Matthaeum et ceteros Evangelistas in scribendo praecessisse, et primum Evangelium patrio sermone a Iudaeis palaestinensibus tunc usitato, quibus opus illud erat directum, conscripsisse ?

Resp. Affirmative ad utramque partem.

III. Utrum redactio huius originalis textus differri possit ultra tempus eversionis Ierusalem, ita ut vaticinia quae de eadem eversione ibi leguntur, scripta fuerint post eventum; aut, quod allegari solet Irenaei testimonium (Adv. haer., lib. 3, cap. 1, n. 2), incertae et controversae interpretationis, tanti ponderis sit existimandum, ut cogat reicere eorum sententiam qui congruentius traditioni censent eandem redactionem etiam ante Pauli in Urbem adventum fuisse confectam ?

Resp. Negative ad utramque partem.

IV. Utrum sustineri vel probabiliter possit illa modernorum quorundam opinio, iuxta quam Matthaeus non proprie et stricte Evangelium composuisset, quale nobis est traditum, sed tantummodo collectionem aliquam dictorum seu sermonum Christi, quibus tamquam fontibus usus esset alius auctor anonymus, quem Evangelii ipsius redactorem faciunt ?

Resp. Negative.

V. Utrum ex eo quod Patres et ecclesiastici scriptores omnes, immo Ecclesia ipsa iam a suis incunabulis unice usi sunt, tamquam canonico, graeco textu Evangelii sub Matthaei nomine cogniti, ne iis quidem exceptis, qui Matthaeum Apostolum patrio scripsisse sermone expresse tradiderunt, certo probari possit ipsum Evangelium graecum identicum esse quoad substantiam cum Evangelio illo, patrio sermone ab eodem Apostolo exarato ?

Resp. Affirmative.

VI. Utrum ex eo quod auctor primi Evangelii scopum prosequitur praecipue dogmaticum et apologeticum, demonstrandi nempe Iudaeis Iesum esse Messiam a prophetis praenuntiatum et a Davidica stirpe progenitum, et quod insuper in disponendis factis et dictis quae enarrat et refert, non semper ordinem chronologicum tenet, deduci inde liceat ea non esse ut vera recipienda; aut etiam affirmari possit narrationes gestorum et sermonum Christi, quae in ipso Evangelio leguntur, altera-

tionem quamdam et adaptationem sub influxu prophetiarum Veteris Testamenti et adultioris Ecclesiae status subiisse, ac proinde historicae veritati haud esse conformes ?

Resp. Negative ad utramque partem.

VII. Utrum speciatim solido fundamento destitutae censi iure debeant opiniones eorum, qui in dubium revocant authenticitatem historicam duorum priorum capitum, in quibus genealogia et infantia Christi narrantur, sicut et quarumdam in re dogmatica magni momenti sententiarum, uti sunt illae quae respiciunt primatum Petri (Mt. 16, 17-19), formam baptizandi cum universali missione praedicandi Apostolis traditam (Mt. 28, 19, 20) professionem fidei Apostolorum in divinitatem Christi (Mt. 14, 33) et alia huiusmodi, quae apud Matthaeum peculiari modo enuntiata occurrunt ?

Resp. Affirmative.

Die autem 19 Iunii 1911, in audientia utrique infrascripto Reverendissimo Consultori ab Actis benigne concessa, Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Pius PP. X praedicta responsa rata habuit ac publici iuris fieri mandavit.

Romae, die 19 Iunii 1911.

FULCRANUS VIGOUROUX, P.S.S.
LAURENTIUS JANSSENS, O.S.B.
Consultores ab Actis.

10. DIE 26 IUNII 1912

DE AUCTORE, DE TEMPORE COMPOSITIONIS ET DE HISTORICA
VERITATE EVANGELIORUM SECUNDUM MARCUM ET
SECUNDUM LUCAM

Propositis sequentibus dubiis Pontificia Commissio de Re Biblica ita respondendum decrevit :

I. Utrum luculentum traditionis suffragium inde ab Ecclesiae primordiis mire consentiens ac multiplici argumento firmatum, nimirum disertis Sanctorum Patrum et scriptorum ecclesiasticorum testimoniis, citationibus et allusionibus in eorundem scriptis occurrentibus, veterum haereticorum usu, versionibus librorum Novi Testamenti, codicibus manuscriptis antiquissimis et pene universis, atque etiam internis rationibus ex ipso sacrorum librorum textu desumptis, certo affirmare cogat Marcum, Petri discipulum et interpretem, Lucam vero medicum, Pauli adiutorem et comitem, revera Evangeliorum quae ipsis respective attribuuntur esse auctores ?

Resp. Affirmative.

II. Utrum rationes, quibus nonnulli critici demonstrare nituntur postremos duodecim versus Evangelii Marci (Mc. 16, 9-20) non esse ab ipso Marco conscriptos, sed ab aliena manu appositos, tales sint, quae ius tribuant affirmandi eos non esse ut inspiratos et canonicos recipiendos; vel saltem demonstrent versuum eorumdem Marcum non esse auctorem?

Resp. Negative ad utramque partem.

III. Utrum pariter dubitare liceat de inspiratione et canonicitate narrationum Lucae de infantia Christi (Lc. 1. 2) aut de apparitione Angeli Iesum confortantis et de sudore sanguineo (Lc. 22, 43 s.); vel solidis saltem rationibus ostendi possit—quod placuit antiquis haereticis et quibusdam etiam recentioribus criticis arridet—easdem narrationes ad genuinum Lucae Evangelium non pertinere?

Resp. Negative ad utramque partem.

IV. Utrum rarissima illa et prorsus singularia documenta, in quibus Canticum *Magnificat* non Beatae Virgini Mariae, sed Elisabeth tribuitur, ullo modo praevalere possint ac debeant contra testimonium concors omnium fere codicum tum graeci textus originalis tum versionum, necnon contra interpretationem quam plane exigunt non minus contextus quam ipsius Virginis animus et constans Ecclesiae traditio?

Resp. Negative.

V. Utrum, quoad ordinem chronologicum Evangeliorum, ab ea sententia recedere fas sit, quae, antiquissimo aequae ac constanti traditionis testimonio roborata, post Matthaeum, qui omnium primus Evangelium suum patrio sermone conscripsit, Marcum ordine secundum et Lucam tertium scripsisse testatur; aut huic sententiae adversari vicissim censenda sit eorum opinio, quae asserit Evangelium secundum et tertium ante graecam primi Evangelii versionem esse compositum?

Resp. Negative ad utramque partem.

VI. Utrum tempus compositionis Evangeliorum Marci et Lucae usque ad urbem Ierusalem eversam differre liceat; vel, eo quod apud Lucam prophetia Domini circa huius urbis eversionem magis determinata videatur, ipsius saltem Evangelium obsidione iam inchoata fuisse conscriptum, sustineri possit?

Resp. Negative ad utramque partem.

VII. Utrum affirmari debeat Evangelium Lucae praecessisse librum *Actuum Apostolorum* (Act 1, 1 s.); et cum hic liber, eodem Luca auctore, ad finem captivitatis romanae Apostoli fuerit absolutus (Act 28, 30 s.), eiusdem Evangelium non post hoc tempus fuisse compositum?

Resp. Affirmative.

VIII. Utrum, prae oculis habitis tum traditionis testimoniis, tum argumentis internis, quoad fontes quibus uterque Evangelista in conscribendo Evangelio usus est, in dubium vocari

prudenter queat sententia quae tenet Marcum iuxta praedicationem Petri, Lucam autem iuxta praedicationem Pauli scripsisse; simulque asserit iisdem Evangelistis praesto fuisse alios quoque fontes fide dignos sive orales sive etiam iam scriptis consignatos?

Resp. Negative.

IX. Utrum dicta et gesta, quae a Marco iuxta Petri praedicationem accurate et quasi graphice enarrantur, et a Luca, *assecuto omnia a principio diligenter* per testes fide plane dignos, quippe *qui ab initio ipsi viderunt et ministri fuerunt sermonis* (Lc. 1, 2 s.), sincerissime exponuntur, plenam sibi eam fidem historicam iure vindicent, quam eisdem semper praestitit Ecclesia; an e contrario eadem facta et gesta censenda sint historica veritate, saltem ex parte, destituta, sive quod scriptores non fuerint testes oculares, sive quod apud utrumque Evangelistam defectus ordinis ac discrepantia in successione factorum haud raroprehendantur, sive quod, cum tardius venerint et scripserint, necessario conceptiones menti Christi et Apostolorum extraneas aut facta plus minusve iam imaginatione populi inquinata referre debuerint, sive demum quod dogmaticis ideis praeconceptionis, quisque pro suo scopo, indulserint?

Resp. Affirmative ad primam partem, negative ad alteram.

DE QUAESTIONE SYNOPTICA SIVE DE MUTUIS RELATIONIBUS INTER TRIA PRIORA EVANGELIA

Propositis pariter sequentibus dubiis Pontificia Commissio de Re Biblica ita respondendum decrevit:

I. Utrum, servatis quae iuxta praecedenter statuta omnino servanda sunt, praesertim de authenticitate et integritate trium Evangeliorum Matthaei, Marci et Lucae, de identitate substantiali Evangelii graeci Matthaei cum eius originali primitivo, necnon de ordine temporum quo eadem scripta fuerunt, ad explicandum eorum ad invicem similitudines aut dissimilitudines, inter tot varias oppositasque auctorum sententias, liceat exegetis libere disputare et ad hypotheses traditionis sive scriptae sive orales vel etiam dependentiae unius a praecedenti seu a praecedentibus appellare?

Resp. Affirmative.

II. Utrum ea quae superius statuta sunt, ii servare censi debeant, qui, nullo fulti traditionis testimonio nec historico argumento, facile amplectuntur hypothesim vulgo *duorum fontium* nuncupatam, quae compositionem Evangelii graeci Matthaei et Evangelii Lucae ex eorum potissimum dependentia ab Evangelio Marci et a collectione sic dicta sermonum Domini contendit explicare; ac proinde eam libere propugnare valeant?

Resp. Negative ad utramque partem.

Die autem 26 Iunii anni 1912, in audientia utrique Reverendissimo Consultori ab Actis benigne concessa, SS^mus Dominus Noster Pius Papa X praedicta responsa rata habuit ac publici iuris fieri mandavit.

Romae, die 26 Iunii 1912.

FULCRANUS VIGOUROUX, P.S.S.
LAURENTIUS JANSSENS, O.S.B.
Consultores ab Actis.

11. DIE 12 IUNII 1913

DE AUCTORE, DE TEMPORE COMPOSITIONIS ET DE HISTORICA
VERITATE LIBRI ACTUUM APOSTOLORUM

Propositis sequentibus dubiis Pontificia Commissio de Re Biblica ita respondendum decrevit :

I. Utrum perspecta potissimum Ecclesiae universae traditione usque ad primaevos ecclesiasticos scriptores assurgente, attentisque internis rationibus libri Actuum sive in se sive in sua ad tertium Evangelium relatione considerati et praesertim mutua utriusque prologi affinitate et connexione (Lc. 1, 1-4; Act 1, 1 s.), uti certum tenendum sit volumen, quod titulo Actus Apostolorum, seu Πράξεις Ἀποστόλων, praenotatur, Lucam Evangelistam habere auctorem ?

Resp. Affirmative.

II. Utrum criticis rationibus, desumptis tum ex lingua et stilo, tum ex enarrandi modo, tum ex unitate scopi et doctrinae, demonstrari possit librum Actuum Apostolorum uni dumtaxat auctori tribui debere; ac proinde eam recentiorum scriptorum sententiam, quae tenet Lucam non esse libri auctorem unicum, sed diversos esse agnoscendos eiusdem libri auctores, quovis fundamento esse destitutam ?

Resp. Affirmative ad utramque partem.

III. Utrum, in specie, pericopae in Actis conspicuae, in quibus, abrupto usu tertiae personae, inducitur prima pluralis (*Wirstücke*), unitatem compositionis et authenticitatem infirmant; vel potius historice et philologice consideratae eam confirmare dicendae sint ?

Resp. Negative ad primam partem, affirmative ad secundam.

IV. Utrum ex eo quod liber ipse, vix mentione facta biennii primae romanae Pauli captivitatis, abrupte clauditur, inferri liceat auctorem volumen alterum deperditum conscripsisse, aut conscribere intendisse, ac proinde tempus compositionis libri Actuum longe possit post eandem captivitatem differri; vel potius iure et merito retinendum sit Lucam sub finem

primae captivitatis romanae Apostoli Pauli librum absolvisse?

Resp. Negative ad primam partem, affirmative ab secundam.

V. Utrum, si simul considerentur tum frequens ac facile commercium quod procul dubio habuit Lucas cum primis et praecipuis ecclesiae palaestinensis fundatoribus nec non cum Paulo gentium Apostolo, cuius et in evangelica praedicatione adiutor et in itineribus comes fuit, tum solita eius industria et diligentia in exquirendis testibus rebusque suis oculis observandis; tum denique plerumque evidens et mirabilis consensus libri Actuum cum ipsis Pauli epistulis et cum sincerioribus historiae monumentis; certo teneri debeat Lucam fontes omni fide dignos prae manibus habuisse eosque accurate, probe et fideliter adhibuisse, adeo ut plenam auctoritatem historicam sibi iure vindicet?

Resp. Affirmative.

VI. Utrum difficultates quae passim obici solent tum ex factis supernaturalibus a Luca narratis; tum ex relatione quorundam sermonum, qui, cum sint compendiose traditi, censentur conficti et circumstantiis adaptati; tum ex nonnullis locis ab historia sive profana sive biblica apparenter saltem dissentientibus; tum demum ex narrationibus quibusdam, quae sive cum ipso Actuum auctore sive cum aliis auctoribus sacris pugnare videntur; tales sint ut auctoritatem Actuum historicam in dubium revocare vel saltem aliquomodo minuere possint?

Resp. Negative.

DE AUCTORE, DE INTEGRITATE ET DE COMPOSITIONIS TEMPORE EPISTULARUM PASTORALIUM PAULI APOSTOLI

Propositis pariter sequentibus dubiis Pontificia Commissio de Re Biblica ita respondendum decrevit:

I. Utrum prae oculis habita Ecclesiae traditione inde a primordiis universaliter firmiterque perseverante, prout multimodis ecclesiastica monumenta vetusta testantur, teneri certo debeat epistulas quae pastorales dicuntur, nempe ad Timotheum utramque et aliam ad Titum, non obstante quorundam haereticorum ausu, qui eas, utpote suo dogmati contrarias, de numero paulinarum, nulla reddita causa, eraserunt, ab ipso Apostolo Paulo fuisse conscriptas et inter genuinas et canonicas perpetuo recensitas?

Resp. Affirmative.

II. Utrum hypothesis sic dicta fragmentaria a quibusdam recentioribus criticis invecta et varie proposita, qui nulla ceteroquin probabili ratione, immo inter se pugnantes, contendunt epistulas pastorales posteriori tempore ex fragmentis epistularum sive ex epistulis paulinis deperditis ab ignotis auctoribus

fuisse contextas et notabiliter auctas, perspicuo et firmissimo traditionis testimonio aliquod vel leve praeiudicium inferre possit ?

Resp. Negative.

III. Utrum difficultates quae multifariam obici solent sive ex stilo et lingua auctoris, sive ex erroribus praesertim Gnosticorum, qui uti iam tunc serpentes describuntur, sive ex statu ecclesiasticae hierarchiae, quae iam evoluta supponitur, aliaeque huiusmodi in contrarium rationes, sententiam, quae genuinitatem epistularum pastoralium ratam certamque habet, quomodolibet infirmant ?

Resp. Negative.

IV. Utrum, cum non minus ex historicis rationibus quam ex ecclesiastica traditione, SS. Patrum orientalium et occidentalium testimoniis consona, necnon ex indiciis ipsis, quae tum ex abrupta conclusione libri Actuum tum ex pauli nis epistulis Romae conscriptis et praesertim ex secunda ad Timotheum facile eruuntur, uti certa haberi debeat sententia de duplici romana captivitate Apostoli Pauli; tuto affirmari possit epistulas pastorales conscriptas esse in illo temporis spatio quod intercedit inter liberationem a prima captivitate et mortem Apostoli ?

Resp. Affirmative.

Die autem 12 Iunii anni 1913, in audientia infrascripto Reverendissimo Consultori ab Actis benigne concessa, SS^{mus} Dominus Noster Pius Papa X praedicta responsa rata habuit ac publici iuris fieri mandavit.

Romae, die 12 Iunii 1913.

LAURENTIUS JANSSENS, O.S.B.
Consultor ab Actis.

12. DIE 24 IUNII 1914

DE AUCTORE, DE MODO ET CIRCUMSTANTIIS COMPOSITIONIS
EPISTULAE AD HEBRAEOS

Propositis sequentibus dubiis Pontificia Commissio de Re Biblica ita respondendum decrevit :

I. Utrum dubiis, quae primis saeculis, ob haereticorum imprimis abusum, aliquorum in Occidente animos tenuere circa divinam inspirationem ac paulinam originem epistulae ad Hebraeos, tanta vis tribuenda sit, ut, attenta perpetua, unanimi ac constanti orientalium Patrum affirmatione, cui post saeculum IV totius occidentalis Ecclesiae plenus accessit consensus; perpenis quoque Summorum Pontificum sacrorumque Conci-

liorum, tridentini praesertim, actis, necnon perpetuo Ecclesiae universalis usu, haesitare liceat, eam non solum inter canonicas, —quod de fide definitum est,—verum etiam inter genuinas Apostoli Pauli epistulas certo recensere?

Resp. Negative.

II. Utrum argumenta, quae desumi solent sive ex insolita nominis Pauli absentia et consueti exordii salutationisque omissione in epistula ad Hebraeos,—sive ex eiusdem linguae graecae puritate, dictionis ac stili elegantia et perfectione,—sive ex modo quo in ea Vetus Testamentum allegatur et ex eo arguitur,—sive ex differentiis quibusdam, quae inter huius ceterarumque Pauli epistularam doctrinam exsistere praetenduntur, aliquomodo eiusdem paulinam originem infirmare valeant; an potius perfecta doctrinae ac sententiarum consensio, admonitionum et exhortationum similitudo, necnon locutionum ac ipsorum verborum concordia a nonnullis quoque acatholicis celebrata, quae inter eam et reliqua Apostoli gentium scripta observantur, eamdem paulinam originem commonstrent atque confirment?

Resp. Negative ad primam partem, affirmative ad alteram.

III. Utrum Paulus Apostolus ita huius epistulae auctor censendus sit, ut necessario affirmari debeat, ipsum eam totam non solum Spiritu Sancto inspirante concepisse et expressisse, verum etiam ea forma donasse qua prostat?

Resp. Negative, salvo ulteriori Ecclesiae iudicio.

Die autem 24 Iunii anni 1914, in audientia infrascripto R^mo Consultori ab Actis benigne concessa, SS^mus Dominus Noster Pius PP. X praedicta responsa rata habuit ac publici iuris fieri mandavit.

Romae, die 24 Iunii 1914.

LAURENTIUS JANSSENS, O.S.B.
Consultor ab Actis.

APPENDIX C

VENERABILIBVS FRATRIBVS PATRIARCHIS PRIMATIBVS
ARCHIEPISCOPIIS EPISCOPIIS ALIISQVE LOCORVM ORDI-
NARIIS PACEM ET COMMVNIONEM CVM [APOSTOLICA
SEDE HABENTIBVS

BENEDICTVS PP. XV.

VENERABILES FRATRES

SALVTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM

SPIRITUS PARACLITUS, cum genus humanum, ut arcanis divinitatis imbueret, sacris Litteris locupletasset, sanctissimos doctissimosque viros, labentibus saeculis, non paucos providentissime excitavit, qui non modo caelestem illum thesaurum iacere sine fructu¹ non sinerent, sed suis et studiis et laboribus *consolationem* inde *Scripturarum* Christifidelibus uberrimam compararent. Hos inter, principem sane, communi omnium consensu, locum obtinet Sanctus Hieronymus, quem Doctorem Maximum sacris Scripturis explanandis divinitus sibi datum catholica agnoscit et veneratur Ecclesia. Iamvero, cum ab eius obitu plenum proxime quintum et decimum saeculum commemoraturi simus, nolumus, Venerabiles Fratres, singularem opportunitatem praetermittere, quin de Hieronymi in scientia Scripturarum laudibus ac promeritis vos data opera alloquamur. Conscientiâ enim apostolici muneris impellimur, ut, ad nobilissimam hanc disciplinam provehendam, insigne tanti viri exemplum ad imitandum proponamus, et quae fel. rec. decessores Nostri Leo XIII et Pius X monita et praescripta hoc in genere utilissima ediderunt, eadem, apostolica Nostra auctoritate, confirmemus et ad haec Ecclesiae tempora pressius aptemus. Etenim Hieronymus, "vir maxime catholicus et sacrae legis peritissimus"² atque "catholicorum magister"³ itemque "morum exemplar mundique magister,"⁴ cum catholicam de sacris Libris doctrinam mirifice illustrarit acriterque defenderit, documenta sane plurima, eaque gravissima, Nobis affert, quae quidem usurpando, filios Ecclesiae

¹ *Conc. Trid. s. V. decr. de reform., c. 1.*

² Sulp. Sev., *Dial.* i. 7. ³ Cass., *De inc.*, vii. 26.

⁴ S. Prosper, *Carmen de ingratis*, v. 57.

universos, clericos potissimum, ad Scripturae divinae reverentiam, cum pia lectione assiduaque commentatione coniunctam, hortemur.

Nostis, Venerabiles Fratres, Hieronymum Stridone natum, in oppido “Dalmatiae quondam Pannoniaeque confinio,”¹ et ab ipsis incunabulis catholico lacte nutritum,² postquam Christi vestem in hac alma Urbe de sacro fonte suscepit,³ quoad longissime vixit, quicquid habuit virium, id in sacris Bibliis perscrutandis, exponendis vindicandisque adhibuisse. Is latinis graecisque litteris Romae eruditus, vixdum e rhetorum schola egressus erat cum, adhuc adulescens, Abdiam prophetam interpretari conatus est: qua ex “puerilis ingenii” exercitatione⁴ ita in eo crevit Scripturarum amor, ut, veluti invento thesauro secundum evangelicam imaginem, “omnia istius mundi emolumenta”⁵ pro eo contemnenda sibi esse duxerit. Quamobrem, nulla deterritus asperitate consilii, cum domum, parentes, sororem, propinquos dereliquit, tum a consuetudine lautioris cibi recessit, et in sacras Orientis regiones transmigravit, ut divitias Christi et Salvatoris scientiam in lectione et studio Bibliorum sibi pararet ampliores.⁶ Qua in re quantum desudaverit, haud semel ipse describit: “Miro discendi ferebar ardore, nec iuxta quorundam praesumptionem ipse me docui. Apollinarium Laodicenum audiavi Antiochiae frequenter et colui, et cum me in sanctis Scripturis erudiret, nunquam illius contentiosum super sensu dogma suscepi.”⁷ Inde in regionem Chalcidis desertam Syriae orientalis regressus, ut verbi divini sensum perfectius assequeretur, simulque ut aetatis aestum studiorum assiduitate coerceret, cuidam fratri, qui ex Hebraeis crediderat, in disciplinam se tradidit, ut hebraicum et chaldaicum quoque sermonem edisceret. “Quid ibi laboris insumpserim, quid sustinuerim difficultatis, quoties desperaverim quotiesque cessaverim et contentione discendi rursus inceperim, testis est conscientia tam mea, qui passus sum, quam eorum qui mecum duxerunt vitam. Et gratias ago Domino, quod de amaro semine litterarum dulces fructus capio.”⁸ Cum autem ab haereticorum turbis ne in ea quidem solitudine quiescere sibi liceret, Constantinopolim se contulit, ubi Sanctum Gregorium Theologum illius Sedis Antistitem, qui summa doctrinae laude ac gloria floreret, ad sacrarum Litterarum interpretationem, fere triennium, ducem ac magistrum adhibuit; quo tempore Origenis in prophetas Homilias et Eusebii Chronicon latine reddidit, et Isaiae de Seraphim

¹ *De viris ill.* 135.

² *Ep.* xv. 1, 1; xvi. 2, 1.

³ *In Matth.* xiii. 44.

⁴ *Ep.* lxxxiv. 3, 1.

⁵ *Ep.* lxxxii. 2, 2.

⁶ *In Abd. Praef.*

⁷ *Ep.* xxii. 30, 1.

⁸ *Ep.* cxxv. 12.

visionem edisseruit. Romam autem ob rei christianae necessitates cum revertisset, a Damaso Pontifice familiariter exceptus, et in gerendis Ecclesiae negotiis est adhibitus.¹ Quibus etsi summopere distinebatur, nullo tamen pacto cum divinos pervolutare Libros² codicesque exscribere et inter se comparare,³ tum quaestiones sibi propositas dirimere et discipulos ex utroque sexu ad Bibliorum cognitionem informare desiit;⁴ laboriosissimam vero provinciam sibi a Pontifice mandatam latinae Novi Testamenti versionis emendandae, tam acri subtilique iudicio est exsecutus, ut recentiores ipsi huius disciplinae existimatores Hieronymianum opus cotidie magis admirentur plurisque faciant. Sed, quoniam ad sancta Palaestinae loca omni cogitatione desiderioque ferebatur, Damaso vita functo, Hieronymus Bethlehem concessit, ubi, coenobio apud Christi cunabula condito, totum Deo se devovit et, quantum ab orando superesset temporis, id omne in Bibliis ediscendis docendisque insumpsit. Nam, ut iterum de se ipse testatur, “iam canis spargebatur caput, et magistrum potius quam discipulum decebat; perrexi tamen Alexandriam, audiivi Didymum. In multis ei gratias ago. Quod nescivi, didici; quod sciebam, illo diversum docente non peridi. Putabant me homines finem fecisse discendi; rursum Ierosolymae et Bethlehem quo labore, quo pretio Baraninam nocturnum habui praeceptorem! Timebat enim Iudaeos et mihi alterum exhibebat Nicodemum.”⁵ Neque vero in horum aliorumque doctorum institutione praeceptisque acquievit, sed praeterea subsidia omne genus adhibuit ad proficiendum utilia; praeterquam enim quod inde ab initio codices commentariosque Bibliorum optimos sibi comparaverat, libros quoque synagogarum et volumina bibliothecae Caesarensis ab Origene et Eusebio collectae evolvit, ut, comparatione eorum codicum cum suis instituta, germanam textus biblici formam verumque sensum erueret. Quem ut plenius assequeretur, Palaestinam, qua late patet, peragravit, cum id sibi haberet persuasissimum quod ad Domnionem et Rogatianum scribebat: “Sanctam Scripturam lucidius intuebitur, qui Iudaeam oculis contemplatus est et antiquarum urbium memorias locorumque vel eadem vocabula vel mutata cognoverit. Unde et nobis curae fuit, cum eruditissimis Hebraeorum hunc laborem subire, ut circumiremus provinciam quam universae Christi ecclesiae sonant.”⁶ Hieronymus igitur suavissimo illo pabulo animum continenter pascere, Pauli Epistulas explanare, Veteris Testamenti latinos

¹ *Ep.* cxxiii. 9, *al.* 10; *Ep.* cxxvii. 7, 1.

² *Ep.* cxxvii. 7. 1 s.

³ *Ep.* xxxvi. 1; *Ep.* xxxii. 1.

⁴ *Ep.* xlv. 2; cxxvi. 3; cxxvii. 7.

⁵ *Ep.* lxxxiv. 3, 1 s.

⁶ *Ad Domnionem et Rogatianum in 1 Paral. Praef.*

codices e graecorum lectione emendare librosque fere omnes ex hebraica veritate denuo in latinum sermonem convertere, sacras Litteras coeuntibus fratribus cotidie edisserere, ad epistulas rescribere quae undique quaestiones de Scriptura dirimendas afferrent, unitatis ac doctrinae catholicae oppugnatores acriter refellere; neque—tantum apud eum potuit Bibliorum amor—a scribendo vel dictando ante desistere, quam manus obriguerint et vox morte intercepta sit. Ita, nullis parcens nec laboribus nec vigiliis nec sumptibus, ad summam usque senectutem, in lege Domini noctu diuque apud Praesepe meditando perseveravit, maioribus e solitudine illa effusus in catholicum nomen, per vitae exempla et scripta, utilitatibus, quam si Romae, in capite orbis terrarum, aevum exegisset.

Vita rebusque gestis Hieronymi vix delibatis, iam, Venerabiles Fratres, ad considerandam eius doctrinam de divina dignitate atque absoluta Scripturarum veritate veniamus. Qua in re nullam profecto in scriptis Doctoris Maximi paginam reperiās, unde non liqueat, eum cum universa catholica Ecclesia firmiter constanterque tenuisse, Libros sacros, Spiritu Sancto inspirante conscriptos, Deum habere auctorem, atque ut tales ipsi Ecclesiae traditos esse.¹ Asseverat nimirum codicis sacri libros Spiritu Sancto inspirante vel suggerente vel insinuante vel etiam dictante compositos esse, immo ab Ipso conscriptos et editos; sed nihil praeterea dubitat, quin singuli eorum auctores, pro sua quisque natura atque ingenio, operam afflanti Deo libere navarint. Etenim non modo id universe affirmat quod omnibus sacris scriptoribus commune est, ipsos in scribendo Dei Spiritum secutos, ut omnis sensus omniumque sententiarum Scripturae Deus causa princeps habendus sit; sed etiam quod uniuscuiusque proprium est, accurate dispicit. Nam singillatim, in rerum compositione, in lingua, in ipso genere a forma loquendi ita eos suis quemque facultatibus ac viribus usos esse ostendit, ut propriam uniuscuiusque indolem et veluti singulares notas ac lineamenta, praesertim prophetarum et apostoli Pauli, inde colligat ac describat. Quam quidem Dei cum homine communitatem laboris ad unum idemque opus conficiendum, Hieronymus comparatione illustrat artificis, qui in aliqua re factitanda organo seu instrumento utitur; quicquid enim scriptores sacri loquuntur, “Domini sunt verba, et non sua, et quod per os ipsorum dicit, quasi per organum Dominus est locutus.”² Quod si etiam inquirimus, qua ratione haec Dei, uti causae principis, virtus atque actio in hagiographum sit intellegenda, cernere licet, inter Hieronymi verba et communem de inspiratione catholicam doctrinam nihil omnino

¹ *Conc. Vat. s. III. const. de fide cath.*, cap. 2.

² *Tract. de Ps. lxxxviii.*

interesse, cum ipse teneat, Deum, gratia conlata, scriptoris menti lumen praeferre ad verum quod attinet, “ex persona Dei” hominibus proponendum; voluntatem praeterea movere atque ad scribendum impellere; ipsi denique peculiariter continenterque adesse donec librum perficiat. Quo potissimum ex capite sanctissimus vir summam Scripturarum praestantiam ac dignitatem infert, quarum scientiam thesauro pretioso¹ et nobili margaritae² aequiparat, in iisque asserit divitias Christi³ et “argentum quo domus Dei ornatur”⁴ inveniri.

Praecellentissimam vero earum auctoritatem sic verbis et exemplo commendabat, ut, quaecumque oriebatur controversia, ad Biblia veluti ad confertissimum armamentarium confugeret, et testimoniis inde eductis, tamquam firmissimis argumentis, quibus refragari minime liceret, ad coarguendos adversariorum errores uteretur. Ita Helvidio perpetuam Deiparae virginitatem neganti, aperte ac simpliciter: “Ut haec quae scripta sunt, non negamus, ita ea quae non sunt scripta, renuimus. Natum Deum esse de Virgine credimus, quia legimus. Mariam nupsisse post partum, non credimus, quia non legimus.”⁵ Iisdem vero armis contra Iovinianum pro doctrina catholica de statu virginali, de perseverantia, de abstinencia deque bonorum operum merito se spondet acerrime propugnaturum: “Adversus singulas propositiones eius, Scripturarum vel maxime nitar testimoniis, ne querulus garriat, se eloquentia magis quam veritate superatum.”⁶ Atque in libris suis contra eundem haeticum defendendis “quasi vero,” scribit “rogandus fuerit ut mihi cederet, et non invitus et repugnans in veritatis vincula ducendus.”⁷ De universa autem Scriptura, in Ieremiae commentario, quem morte prohibitus est absolvere: “Nec parentum nec maiorum error sequendus est, sed auctoritas Scripturarum et Dei docentis imperium.”⁸ Et viam rationemque adversus hostes dimicandi sic Fabiolam docet: “Cum divinis Scripturis fueris eruditus et leges earum ac testimonia vincula scieris veritatis, contendes cum adversariis, ligabis eos et vinctos duces in captivitatem et de hostibus quondam atque captivis liberos Dei facies.”⁹

Porro cum divina sacrorum Librorum inspiratione summaque eorundem auctoritate docet Hieronymus immunitatem et omni ab errore et fallacia vacuitatem necessario cohaerere: quod, uti a Patribus traditum communiterque receptum, in celeberrimo

¹ *In Matth. xiii. 44: tract. de Ps. lxxvii.*

² *In Matt. xiii. 45 ss.*

³ *In Agg. ii. 1 ss.; cf. in Gal. ii. 10, etc.*

⁴ *Adv. Helv. xix.*

⁵ *Ep. xlix. al. xlviii. 14, 1.*

⁶ *Ep. lxxviii. 30, al. 28, mansio.*

⁷ *Quaest. in Gen. Praef.*

⁸ *Adv. Iovin. i. 4.*

⁹ *In Ier. ix. 12 ss.*

rimis Occidentis Orientisque scholis didicerat. Et sane, cum, post inceptam, Damasi Pontificis mandato, Novi Testamenti recognitionem, quidam “homunculi” ipsum studiose obiurgarent quod “adversus auctoritatem veterum et totius mundi opinionem aliqua in Evangeliiis emendare” tentasset, paucis respondit, non adeo se hebetis fuisse cordis et tam crassae rusticitatis, ut aliquid de Dominicis verbis aut corrigendum putasset aut non divinitus inspiratum.¹ Primam vero Ezechielis visionem de quattuor Evangeliiis exponens “totum autem corpus,” animadvertit, “et dorsa plena oculis adprobabit, qui viderit nihil esse in Evangeliiis quod non luceat et splendore suo mundum illuminet: ut etiam quae parva putantur et vilia, Spiritus Sancti fulgeant maiestate.”² Iam quae de Evangeliiis inibi affirmat, eadem de omnibus aliis “Dominicis verbis” in singulis commentariis profitetur, ut catholicae interpretationis legem ac fundamentum; et hac ipsa veritatis nota germanus propheta, Hieronymo auctore, a falso internoscitur.³ Nam “Domini verba sunt vera, et eius dixisse, fecisse est.”⁴ Itaque “Scriptura mentiri non potest,”⁵ et nefas est dicere Scripturam mentiri,⁶ immo solum errorem nominis in eius verbis admittere.⁷ Addit praeterea Sanctus Doctor, se “aliter habere Apostolos, aliter reliquos tractatores” idest profanos; “illos semper vera dicere, istos in quibusdam, ut homines, aberrare”;⁸ et licet multa in Scripturis dicantur, quae videntur incredibilia, tamen vera esse;⁹ in hoc “verbo veritatis” nullas res sententiasque inter se pugnantes inveniri posse, “nihil dissonum, nihil diversum”;¹⁰ quare “cum videatur Scriptura inter se esse contraria, utrumque verum” esse, “cum diversum sit.”¹¹ Cui cum fortiter principio adhaeresceret, si qua in sacris libris inter se discrepare viderentur, eo curas omnes cogitationesque Hieronymus convertere, ut quaestionem enodaret; quodsi rem nondum apte direptam putaret, de eadem, data occasione, iterato libenterque inquirere, haud ita felici interdum exitu. Scriptores tamen sacros nunquam de fallacia arguit vel levissima—“hoc quippe impiorum est, Celsi, Porphyrii, Iuliani.”¹²—In quo quidem cum Augustino plane consentit, qui, ad ipsum Hieronymum scribens, se solis libris sacris hunc timorem honoremque ait deferre, ut nullum eorum auctorem scribendo errasse aliquid, firmissime credat, ideoque, si quid in eis offendat litteris, quod videatur

¹ *Ep.* xxvii. i, i s.

³ *In Mich.* ii. ii s.; iii. 5 ss.

⁵ *In Ier.* xxxi. 35 ss.

⁷ *Ep.* lvii. 7, 4.

⁹ *Ep.* lxxii. 2, 2.

¹¹ *Ep.* xxxvi. ii, 2.

² *In Ex.* i. i5 ss.

⁴ *In Mich.* iv. i ss.

⁶ *In Nah.* i. 9.

⁸ *Ep.* lxxxii. 7, 2.

¹⁰ *Ep.* xviii. 7, 4; *cf.* *Ep.* xlvi. 6, 2.

¹² *Ep.* lvii. 9, i.

contrarium veritati, non id opinari, sed vel mendosum esse codicem vel interpretem errasse vel seipsum minime intellexisse; quibus haec subiicit: “Nec te, mi frater, sentire aliud existimo: prorsus, inquam, non te arbitror sic legi tuos libros velle tamquam prophetarum et Apostolorum, de quorum scriptis quod omni errore careant, dubitare nefarium est.”¹ Hac igitur Hieronymi doctrina egregie confirmantur atque illustrantur ea quibus fel. rec. decessor Noster Leo XIII antiquam et constantem Ecclesiae fidem sollemniter declaravit de absoluta Scripturarum a quibusvis erroribus immunitate: “Tantum abest ut divinae inspirationi error ullus subesse possit, ut ea per se ipsa non modo errorem excludat omnem, sed tam necessario excludat et respuat, quam necessarium est, Deum, summam veritatem nullius omnino erroris auctorem esse.” Atque allatis definitionibus Conciliorum Florentini et Tridentini in synodo Vaticana confirmatis, haec praeterea habet: “Quare nihil admodum refert, Spiritum Sanctum assumpsisse homines tamquam instrumenta ad scribendum, quasi non quidem primario auctori, sed scriptoribus inspiratis quidpiam falsi elabi potuerit. Nam supernaturali ipse virtute ita eos ad scribendum excitavit et movit, ita scribentibus adstitit, ut ea omnia eaque sola quae ipse iuberet, et recte mente conciperent, et fideliter conscribere vellent, et apte infallibili veritate exprimerent: secus non ipse esset auctor sacrae Scripturae universae.”² Quae decessoris Nostri verba quamquam nullum relinquunt ambigendi vel tergiversandi locum, dolendum tamen est, Venerabiles Fratres, non modo ex iis qui foris sunt, sed etiam e catholicae Ecclesiae filiis, immo vero, quod animum Nostrum vehementius excruciat, ex ipsis clericis sacrarumque disciplinarum magistris non defuisse qui, iudicio suo superbe subnixi, Ecclesiae magisterium in hoc capite vel aperte reiecerint vel occulte oppugnarint. Equidem illorum comprobamus consilium, qui ut semet ipsos aliosque ex difficultatibus sacri codicis expediant, ad eas diluendas, omnibus studiorum et artis criticae freti subsidiis, novas vias atque rationes inquirunt; at misere a proposito aberrabunt, si decessoris Nostri praescripta neglexerint et certos fines terminosque a Patribus constitutos praeterierint. Quibus sane praeceptis et finibus nequaquam recentiorum illorum continetur opinio, qui, inducto inter elementum Scripturae primum seu religiosum et secundarium seu profanum discrimine, inspirationem quidem ipsam ad omnes sententias, immo etiam ad singula Bibliorum verba pertinere volunt, sed eius effectus, atque in primis erroris immunitatem absolutamque veritatem, ad elementum primum seu religiosum contra-

¹ S. Aug. ad S. Hieron., *inter epist. S. Hier.* cxvi. 3.

² Litt. Enc. *Providentissimus Deus.*

hunt et coangustant. Eorum enim sententia est, id unum, quod ad religionem spectet, a Deo in Scripturis intendi ac doceri; reliqua vero, quae ad profanas disciplinas pertineant et doctrinae revelatae, quasi quaedam externa divinae veritatis vestis, inserviant, permitti tantummodo et scriptoris imbecillitati relinqui. Nihil igitur mirum, si in rebus physicis et historicis aliisque similibus satis multa in Bibliis occurrunt quae cum huius aetatis bonarum artium progressionibus componi omnino non possint. Haec opinionum commenta, sunt qui nihil repugnare contendunt decessoris Nostri praescriptionibus, cum is hagiographum in naturalibus rebus secundum externam speciem, utique fallacem, loqui declaraverit. Id vero quam temere, quam falso affirmetur, ex ipsis Pontificis verbis manifesto apparet. Neque enim ab externa rerum specie, cuius rationem esse habendam, Leo XIII, praeuntibus Augustino et Thoma Aquinate, sapientissime edixit, ulla falsi labes divinis Litteris aspergitur, quandoquidem sensus in iis rebus proxime cognoscendis, quarum sit propria ipsorum cognitio, minime decipi, dogma est sanae philosophiae. Praeterea decessor Noster, quovis inter elementum primum et secundarium, uti vocant, remoto discrimine omnique ambiguitate sublata, luculenter ostendit, longissime a vero abesse illorum opinionem, qui arbitrantur “de veritate sententiarum cum agitur, non adeo exquirendum quaenam dixerit Deus, ut non magis perpendatur quam ob causam ea dixerit”; idemque docet divinum afflatum ad omnes Bibliorum partes, sine ullo delectu ac discrimine, proferri, nullumque in textum inspiratum errorem incidere posse: “At nefas omnino fuerit, aut inspirationem ad aliquas tantum Sacrae Scripturae partes coangustare, aut concedere sacrum ipsum errasse auctorem.”

Neque minus ab Ecclesiae doctrina, Hieronymi testimonio ceterorumque Patrum comprobata, ii dissentiunt, qui partes Scripturarum historicas non factorum *absoluta* inniti veritate arbitrantur, sed tantummodo *relativa*, quam vocant, et concordii vulgi opinione: idque non verentur ex ipsis Leonis Pontificis verbis inferre, propterea quod principia de rebus naturalibus statuta ad disciplinas historicas transferri posse dixerit. Itaque contendunt, hagiographos, uti in physicis secundum ea quae apparerent locuti sint, ita eventa ignaros rettulisse prouti haec e communi vulgi sententia vel falsis aliorum testimoniis constare viderentur, neque fontes scientiae suae indicasse, neque aliorum enarrationes fecisse suas. Rem in decessorem Nostrum plane iniuriosam et falsam plenamque erroris cur multis refellamus? Quae est enim rerum naturalium cum historia similitudo, quando physica in iis versantur quae “sensibiliter apparent” ideoque cum phaenomenis concordare debent, cum, contra, lex historiae praecipua haec sit, scripta cum rebus

gestis, uti gestae reapse sunt, congruere oportere? Recepta semel istorum opinione, quo pacto incolumis consistat veritas illa, ab omni falso immunis, narrationis sacrae, quam decessor Noster in toto Litterarum suarum contextu retinendam esse declarat? Quodsi affirmat, ad historiam cognatasque disciplinas eadem principia transferri utiliter posse quae in physicis locum habent, id quidem non universe statuit, sed auctor tantummodo est ut haud dissimili ratione utamur ad refellendas adversariorum fallacias et ad historicam Sacrae Scripturae fidem ab eorum impugnationibus tuendam. Atque utinam novarum rerum fautores hic sisterent; siquidem eo procedunt ut Doctorem Stridonensem ad sententiam suam defendendam invocent, utpote qui historiae fidem et ordinem in Bibliis servari “non iuxta id quod erat, sed iuxta id quod illo tempore putabatur” et hanc quidem propriam esse historiae legem asseveraverit.¹ In quo mirum quantum ad sua commenta detorquent verba Hieronymi. Nam quis est qui non videat, hoc Hieronymum dicere, hagiographum non in rebus gestis enarrandis, veritatis ignarum, ad falsam se vulgi opinionem accommodare, sed in nomine personis et rebus imponendo communem sequi loquendi modum? Ut cum Sanctum Iosephum patrem Iesu appellat, de quo quidem patris nomine quid sentiat, ipse in toto narrationis cursu haud obscure significat. Atque haec ad Hieronymi mentem “vera historiae lex” est, ut scriptor, cum de eiusmodi appellationibus agitur, remoto omni erroris periculo, usitatam loquendi rationem teneat, propterea quia penes usum est arbitrium et norma loquendi. Quid, quod res quas Biblia gestas enarrant, hic noster non secus ac doctrinas fide ad salutem necessaria credendas proponit? Et sane in commentario Epistulae ad Philemonem haec habet: “Quod autem dico, tale est: Credit quispiam in Conditorum Deum: non potest credere nisi prius crediderit de sanctis eius vera esse quae scripta sunt.” Exemplis deinceps quam plurimis ex Veteris Testamenti codice allatis, sic concludit: “Haec et cetera quae de sanctis scripta sunt, nisi quis universa crediderit, in Deum sanctorum credere non valebit.”² Hieronymus igitur idem omnino profitetur, quod Augustinus, communem totius antiquitatis christianae sensum complexus, scribebat: “Quidquid de Henoch et de Elia et de Moyse Scriptura sancta, certis et magnis fidei suae documentis in summo culmine auctoritatis locata, testatur, hoc credimus. . . . Non ergo ideo credimus natum ex Virgine Maria, quod aliter in vera carne exsistere et hominibus apparere non posset (uti voluit Faustus), sed quia sic scriptum est in ea Scriptura cui nisi crediderimus,

¹ *In Ier.* xxiii. 15 ss.; *in Matth.* xiv. 8; *adv. Helv.* iv.

² *In Philem.* iv.

nec christiani nec salvi esse poterimus.”¹—Neque aliis Scriptura sancta obtrektoribus caret; eos intellegimus, qui rectis quidem, si intra certos quosdam fines contineantur, principiis sic abutuntur, ut fundamenta veritatis Bibliorum labefactent et doctrinam catholicam communiter a Patribus traditam subruant. In quos Hieronymus, si adhuc viveret, utique acerrima illa sermonis sui tela coniiceret, quod, sensu et iudicio Ecclesiae posthabito, nimis facile ad citationes quas vocant implicitas vel ad narrationes specie tenus historicas confugiunt; aut genera quaedam litterarum in libris sacris inveniri contendunt, quibuscum integra ac perfecta verbi divini veritas componi nequeat; aut de Bibliorum origine ita opinantur, ut eorundem labet vel prorsus pereat auctoritas. Iam quid de iis sentiendum, qui, in ipsis Evangeliiis exponendis, fidem illis debitam humanam minuunt, divinam evertunt? Quae enim Dominus Noster Iesus Christus dixit, quae egit, non ea censent ad nos integra atque immutata pervenisse, iis testibus, qui quae ipsi vidissent atque audivissent, religiose perscripserint; sed—praesertim ad quartum Evangelium quod attinet—partim ex Evangelistis prodiisse, qui multa ipsimet excogitarint atque addiderint, partim e narratione fidelium alterius aetatis esse congesta; ob eamque causam aquas e duobus fontibus manantes uno eodemque alveo sic hodie contineri, ut nullâ iam certâ notâ distingui inter se possint. Haud ita Hieronymus, Augustinus et ceteri Ecclesiae Doctores historicam Evangeliorum fidem intellexerunt, de qua “qui vidit, testimonium perhibuit, et verum est testimonium eius. Et ille scit, quia vera dicit, ut et vos credatis.”² Ac Hieronymus quidem, postquam haereticos, qui apocrypha evangelia confecerant, in eo reprehendit quod “conati sunt magis ordinare narrationem quam historiae texere veritatem,”³ de Scripturis canonicis, contra, scribit: “nulli dubium sit, facta esse quae scripta sunt,”⁴ iterum iterumque cum Augustino consentiens, qui de Evangeliiis praeclare: “vera haec,” inquit, “et de illo fideliter veraciterque conscripta sunt, ut quisquis Evangelio eius crediderit, veritate instruat, non mendaciis illudatur.”⁵

Iam videtis, Venerabiles Fratres, quanto opere sit vobis adnitendum, ut quam Patres diligentissime defugerint insanam opinandi libertatem, eandem Ecclesiae filii non minus diligenter devitent. Quod quidem eo facilius assequemini, si et clericis et laicis, quos Spiritus Sanctus vobis credidit regendos, persua-seritis, Hieronymum ceterosque Ecclesiae Patres hanc de sacris

¹ S. Aug., *Contra Faustum*, xxvi. 3 s., 6 s.

² Ioh. xix. 35.

³ *In Matth.*, *Prolog.*

⁴ *Ep.* lxxviii. 1, 1; cf. *in Marc.* i. 13-31.

⁵ S. Aug., *C. Faustum*, xxvi. 8.

Libris doctrinam nusquam alibi nisi in schola ipsius divini Magistri Iesus Christi didicisse. Num quid aliud legimus de Scriptura sensisse Dominum? Cuius ex verbis “scriptum est” et “oportet impleri Scripturam” iam argumentum omni exceptione maius exsistit, quod omnibus controversiis finem imponat. Sed, ut in re paulisper commoremur, cuiusnam scientiam aut memoriam fugiat, Dominum Iesum in sermonibus quos ad populum habuit, cum in monte prope lacum Genesareth, tum in synagoga Nazareth et in civitate sua Capharnaum, capita doctrinae et argumenta ad eam probandam ex codice sacro assumpsisse? Nonne ad disceptandum cum pharisaeis et sadducaeis invicta arma indidem cepit? Sive enim doceat, sive disputet, ex qualibet Scripturae parte sententias affert et exempla, et uti talia affert, quibus sit necessario credendum; quo in genere ad Ionam et Ninivitas, ad reginam Saba et Salomonem, ad Eliam et Elisaeum, ad David, ad Noe, ad Lot et Sodomitas et ipsam uxorem Lot, sine ullo discrimine, provocat.¹ Veritatem autem sacrorum Librorum sic testatur, ut sollemniter edicat: “Iota unum aut unus apex non praeteribit a lege donec omnia fiant,”² et: “Non potest solvi Scriptura”:³ quamobrem “qui solverit unum de mandatis istis minimis et docuerit sic homines, minimus vocabitur in regno caelorum.”⁴ Quam ut doctrinam Apostoli, quos brevi in terris erat relicturus, plene imbiberent, ante quam ad Patrem in caelum adscendit, “aperuit illis sensum, ut intellexerent Scripturas, et dixit eis: Quoniam sic scriptum est et sic oportebat Christum pati et resurgere a mortuis tertia die.”⁵ Doctrina igitur Hieronymi de praestantia et veritate Scripturae, ut uno verbo dicamus, doctrina Christi est. Quare omnes Ecclesiae filios, eosque praecipue, qui sacrorum alumnos ad hanc excolunt disciplinam, vehementer hortamur, ut Stridonensis Doctoris vestigia constanti animo persequantur: ex quo, sine dubio, futurum est, ut hunc Scripturarum thesaurum, quanti ille habuit, tanti ipsimet faciant, et ex eius possessione suavissimos capiant beatitudinis fructus.

Etenim quod Doctore Maximo utamur duce ac magistro, id utilitates non modo quas supra memoravimus, sed alias etiam nec paucas nec mediocres habet, quas, Venerabiles Fratres, placeat vobiscum paucis recolere. Quod quidem ut aggrediamur, ille in primis ante oculos mentis Nostrae obversatur ardentissimus Bibliorum amor, quem omni vitae suae exemplo et verbis Spiritu Dei plenis Hieronymus demonstravit atque in fidelium animis cotidie magis excitare studuit. “Ama Scripturas

¹ Cf. Matth. xii. 3, 39-42; Luc. xvii. 26-29, 32, etc.

² Matth. v. 18.

³ Ioh. x. 35.

⁴ Matth. v. 19

⁵ Luc. xxiv. 45 s.

sanctas," ita in virgine Demetriade hortari omnes videtur, "et amabit te sapientia; dilige eam et servabit te; honora illam et amplexabitur te. Haec monilia in pectore et in auribus tuis haereant."¹ Continua sane Scripturae lectio atque accuratissima singulorum librorum et vel sententiarum vocumque pervestigatio id effecit, ut tantum sacri codicis usum haberet, quantum nullus alius scriptor ecclesiasticae antiquitatis. Cui Bibliorum scientiae cum subtilitate iudicii coniunctae tribuendum est, quod versio Vulgata a Doctore nostro confecta, omnium integrorum iudicum consensu, reliquis longe praestat antiquis versionibus, cum accuratius atque elegantius archetypon reddere videatur. Vulgatam vero ipsam, quam "longo tot saeculorum usu in ipsa Ecclesia probatam" Concilium Tridentinum uti authenticam habendam et in docendo et orando usurpandam esse constituit, praegestimus animo, si quidem benignissimus Deus huius lucis Nobis usuram protulerit, ad codicum fidem, emendatam restitutamque videre: quo ex arduo laboriosoque opere, a fel. rec. decessore Nostro Pio X sodalibus Benedictinis providenter commisso, minime dubitamus quin nova ad Scripturarum intellegentiam praesidia accedant. Quorum amor e Hieronymi praesertim epistulis adeo eminet, ut eae velut ipsis divinis verbis contextae videantur; et, quemadmodum Bernardo nihil ea sapiebant unde dulcissimum Iesu nomen abesset, sic noster nullis iam litteris delectabatur quae luminibus carerent Scripturarum. Quare ad sanctum Paulinum, virum senatoria olim et consulari dignitate conspicuum, eumque non multo ante ad Christi fidem conversum, haec candide scribebat: "Si haberes hoc fundamentum (id est scientiam Scripturarum), immo, quasi extrema manus in tuo opere duceretur, nihil pulchrius, nihil doctius nihilque latinus tuis haberemus voluminibus. . . . Huic prudentiae et eloquentiae si accederet vel studium vel intellegentia Scripturarum, viderem te brevi arcem tenere nostrorum."²

Sed qua via ac ratione magnus hic thesaurus, a Patre caelesti in solacium peregrinantium filiorum conlatus, sit cum laeta boni exitus spe quaerendus, Hieronymus suo ipse exemplo indicat. Atque in primis monet, praeparationem diligentem affectamque bene voluntatem ad eiusmodi studia afferamus. Ipse enim, postquam baptismo ablatus est, omnia ut removeret externa impedimenta, quae a sancto eum proposito remorari poterant, hominem illum imitatus, qui, thesauro invento, "prae gaudio illius vadit et vendit universa quae habet et emit agrum illum,"³ fluxas inanesque huius mundi delicias missas facere, solitudinem percipere, et severum vitae institutum eo studiosius amplecti, quo magis in vitiorum illecebris antea salutem periclitari per-

¹ *Ep.* cxxx. 20.² *Ep.* lviii. 9, 2; xi. 2.³ *Matth.* xiii. 44.

spexerat. At certe, iis sublatiis impedimentis, reliquum erat, ut animum quoque ad Iesu Christi scientiam compararet, Eumque indueret qui “mitis” est “et humilis corde”; siquidem in se id expertus erat, quod Augustinus sibi sacrarum Litterarum studia ineunti contigisse testatus est. Qui postquam se in scripta Ciceronis aliorumque adulescens immerserat, cum animum ad Scripturam sanctam intenderet, “visa est mihi,” ait, “indigna quam Tullianae dignitati compararem. Tumor enim meus refugiebat modum eius, et acies mea non penetrabat interiora eius. Verumtamen illa erat quae cresceret cum parvulis: sed ego dedignabar esse parvulus, et turgidus fastu mihi grandis videbar.”¹ Haud aliter Hieronymus, etsi in solitudinem secesserat, profanis litteris adeo delectabatur, ut humilem Christum nondum in humilitate Scripturae cognosceret. “Itaque miser ego,” inquit, “lecturus Tullium ieiunabam. Post noctium crebras vigilias, post lacrimas quas mihi praetoriorum recordatio peccatorum ex imis visceribus eruebat, Plautus sumebatur in manus. Si quando in memetipsum reversus, prophetas legere coepissem, sermo horrebat incultus, et quia lumen caecis oculis non videbam, non oculorum putabam culpam esse sed solis.”² Sed brevi Crucis stultitiam sic adamavit, ut sit documento quantum humilis piusque animi habitus ad Bibliorum intellegentiam conferat. Itaque cum sibi ipse conscius esset “semper in exponendis Scripturis sanctis Spiritus Dei indigere nos adventu”³ et non aliter Scripturam esse legendam et intellegendam “quam sensus Spiritus Sancti flagitat quo conscripta est,”⁴ sanctissimus vir Dei opem et Paracliti lumina, amicis quoque deprecatoribus usus, suppliciter implorat; eumque legimus divino auxilio fratrumque precibus et explanationes librorum sacrorum, quas inchoaret, commendantem, et quas feliciter absolvisset, referentem acceptas. Praeterea, quemadmodum Dei gratiae, sic maiorum auctoritati se permittit, ut affirmare queat, se “quod didicerat, non a seipso, id est a praesumptionis pessimo praeceptore, sed ab illustribus Ecclesiae viris”⁵ didicisse; fatetur enim, se “nunquam in divinis voluminibus propriis viribus credidisse,”⁶ et cum Theophilo, episcopo Alexandrino, legem, ad quam vitam suam et studia sacra composuerat, hisce verbis communicat: “Sed tamen scito nobis esse nihil antiquius quam Christiani iura servare nec patrum transferre terminos semperque meminisse Romanam fidem apostolico ore laudatam.”⁷ Atque

¹ S. Aug., *Conf.* iii. 5; cf. viii. 12.

² *Ep.* xxii. 30, 2.

³ *In Mich.* i. 10, 15.

⁴ *In Gal.* v. 19 ss.

⁵ *Ep.* cviii, 26, 2.

⁶ *Ad Domnionem et Rogatianum in 1 Par. Praef.*

⁷ *Ep.* lxiii, 2.

Ecclesiae, supremae per Romanos Pontifices magistrae, toto pectore obsequitur et paret; e regione igitur Syriae deserta, ubi haereticorum factionibus premebatur, ut controversiam Orientalium de Sanctissimae Trinitatis mysterio dirimendam Romanae Sedi subiiceret, ita scribit ad Damasum Pontificem: "Ideo mihi cathedram Petri et fidem apostolico ore laudatam censui consulendam, inde nunc meae animae postulans cibum unde olim Christi vestimenta suscepi. . . . Ego nullum primum nisi Christum sequens, Beatitudini Tuae id est cathedrae Petri communione consocior. Super illam petram aedificatam Ecclesiam scio. . . . Decernite, obsecro: si placet, non timebo tres hypostases dicere; si iubetis, condatur nova post Nicaenam fides, et similibus verbis cum Arianis confiteamur orthodoxi."¹ Tandem hanc fidei suae praeclaram confessionem in proxima epistula repetit: "Ego interim clamito: Si quis cathedrae Petri iungitur, meus est."² Quam quidem fidei regulam in Scripturarum studio continenter secutus, falsam quandam sacri codicis interpretationem hoc uno argumento refutat: "Sed haec non recipit Ecclesia Dei,"³ et librum apocryphum, quem Vigilantius haereticus ipsi opposuerat, paucis hisce reicit: "Quem ego librum nunquam legi. Quid enim necesse est in manus sumere quod Ecclesia non recipit?"⁴ Ergo cum in fidei integritate retinenda tam esset diligens, acerrime cum iis depugnabat qui ab Ecclesia descivissent, eosque adversarios veluti suos proprios habebat: "Breviter respondebo, nunquam me haereticis pepercisse et omni egisse studio, ut hostes Ecclesiae mei quoque hostes fierent";⁵ et ad Rufinum cum scriberet: "In uno tibi" ait "consentire non potero, ut parcam haereticis, ut me catholicum non probem."⁶ Eorum tamen defectionem complorans, rogabat, vellent ad lugentem Matrem, unicam salutis causam, reverti,⁷ et pro iis "qui de Ecclesia egressi erant et dimittentes doctrinam Spiritus Sancti suum sensum sequebantur," precabatur, ut toto animo ad Deum converterentur.⁸ Quodsi unquam alias, Venerabiles Fratres, at hac nostra praesertim aetate, cum Dei revelantis Ecclesiaeque docentis auctoritatem atque imperium non pauci contumaciter detrectant, spiritu Doctoris Maximi omnes e clero populoque christiano imbuantur oportet. Nostis enim—quod iam Leo XIII praemonuerat—"quale adversetur et instet hominum genus, quibus vel artibus vel armis confidant." Omnino igitur quam plurimos quamque maxime idoneos excitetis oportet sanctissimae causae defensores, qui non modo ad-

¹ *Ep.* xv. 1, 2, 4.

³ *In Dan.* iii. 37.

⁵ *Dial. c. Pelag.*, Prolog. ii.

⁷ *In Mich.* i. 10 ss.

² *Ep.* xvi. 2, 2.

⁴ *Adv. Vigil.* vi.

⁶ *Contra Ruf.* iii. 43.

⁸ *In Is.* l. 6, cap. xvi. 1-5.

versus eos dimicent quibus, ordinem supernaturalem universum negantibus, nulla est Dei revelatio et afflatus, sed etiam cum iis congregiantur qui, profanarum novitatum cupidi, sacras Litteras quasi librum prorsus humanum interpretari audent, aut a sententiis discedunt in Ecclesia a prisca antiquitate receptis, aut magisterium eius sic neglegunt, ut Apostolicae Sedis Constitutiones et Pontificii Consilii de Re Biblica decreta parvipendant vel silentio praetereant vel etiam ad placita sua subdole petulanterve detorqueant. Utinam catholici omnes auream sancti Doctoris regulam sequantur, et, Matris dicto audientes, intra terminos antiquos a Patribus positos et ab Ecclesia ratos se modeste contineant.

Sed ad propositum redeamus. Animos igitur iam pietate ac demissione comparatos, ad Bibliorum studium invitat Hieronymus. Ac primum omnibus iterum iterumque cotidianam verbi divini lectionem commendat: “Modo non sit corpus nostrum subditum peccatis, et ingreditur in nos sapientia: exerceatur sensus, mens cotidie divina lectione pascatur.”¹ Et in Epistolam ad Ephesios: “Unde omni studio legendae nobis Scripturae sunt et in lege Domini meditandum die ac nocte, ut probati trapezitae sciamus quis nummus probus sit, quis adulter.”² Neque ab hac communi lege matronas virginesque eximit. Laetae, matri Romanae, haec de filia instituenda, inter alia, tradit praecepta: “Reddat tibi penum cotidie Scripturarum certum. . . . Pro gemmis aut serico divinos codices amet. . . . Discat primum psalterium, his se canticis avocet, et in Proverbiis Salomonis erudiatur ad vitam. In Ecclesiaste consuescat calcare quae mundi sunt. In Iob virtutis et patientiae exempla sectetur. Ad Evangelia transeat, nunquam ea positura de manibus. Apostolorum Acta et Epistulas tota cordis imbibat voluntate. Cumque pectoris sui cellarium his opibus locupletaverit, mandet memoriae prophetas et Heptateuchum et Regum ac Paralipomenon libros, Esdraeque et Esther volumina, ut ultimum sine periculo discat Canticum Canticorum.”³ Neque aliter Eustochium virginem hortatur: “Crebrius lege et discere quam plurima. Tenenti codicem somnus obrepat et cadentem faciem pagina sancta suscipiat.”⁴ Cui cum epitaphium mitteret Paulae matris, sanctissimam feminam eo quoque nomine dilaudat, quod una cum filia sic se Scripturarum studiis excoluisset, ut eas et penitus nosset et memoriae mandasset. Addit praeterea: “Loquar et aliud quod forsitan aemulis videatur incredulum: hebraeam linguam, quam ego ab adulescentia multo labore ac sudore ex parte didici et infatigabili meditatione non desero, ne ipse ab ea deserar,

¹ *In Tit.* iii. 9.

³ *Ep.* cviii. 9, 12.

² *In Eph.* iv. 31.

⁴ *Ep.* xxii. 17, 2; *cf. ib.* xxix. 2.

discere voluit et consecuta est ita ut psalmos hebraice caneret et sermonem absque ulla latinae linguae proprietate resonaret. Quod quidem usque hodie in sancta filia eius Eustochio cernimus."¹ Neque sanctam praeterit Marcellam, quae item Scripturas calleret optime.² Quem vero lateat, ex pia sacrorum librorum lectione quantum utilitatis ac suavitatis in animos rite compositos defluat? Ad Biblia enim quisquis pia mente, firma fide, humili animo et cum proficiendi voluntate accesserit, is eum ibi inveniet et comedet panem qui de caelo descendit, et Davidicum illud in se ipse experietur: "Incerta et occulta sapientiae tuae manifestasti mihi,"³ cum haec verbi divini mensa sit vere "continens doctrinam sanctam, erudiens fidem rectam, et firmiter usque ad interiora velaminis, ubi sunt Sancta Sanctorum, perducens."⁴ Quod autem in Nobis est, Venerabiles Fratres, Christifideles omnes auctore Hieronymo cohortari numquam desinemus, ut sacrosancta praesertim Domini Nostri Evangelia, itemque Acta Apostolorum et Epistulas cotidiana lectione pervolvere et in sucum et sanguinem convertere studeant. Itaque in his saecularibus sollemnibus ad Societatem, quae Sancti Hieronymi nomine nuncupatur, libenter provolat cogitatio Nostra; eoque libentius quod Nosmet ipsi rei inchoandae perficiendaeque participes fuimus, cuius quidem incrementa cum praeterita iucunde perspeximus, tum praecipimus laeto animo futura. Huic enim Societati non ignoratis, Venerabiles Fratres, id esse propositum, quattuor Evangelia et Acta Apostolorum quam latissime pervulgare ita, ut nulla iam sit christiana familia quae iis careat, omnesque cotidiana eorum lectione et meditatione assuescant. Quod opus Nobis ob exploratas eius utilitates carissimum, vehementer cupimus, societatibus eiusdem nominis et instituti ubique conditis, et iis ad Romanam aggregatis, in dioeceses vestras propagari atque diffundi. Eodem in genere optime de re catholica merentur illi e variis regionibus viri, qui omnes Novi Testamenti et selectos e Vetere libros commoda ac nitida forma edendos et evulgandos perdiligenter curarunt et in praesenti curant: unde constat haud exiguam fructuum copiam in Ecclesiam Dei permanasse, cum multo iam plures ad hanc caelestis doctrinae mensam accedant, quam Dominus Noster per suos prophetas, Apostolos et Doctores christiano orbi ministravit.⁵

Iam vero, cum sacri codicis studium ab omnibus fidelibus requirit Hieronymus, tum maxime ab iis qui "iugum Christi collo suo imposuerunt" et ad divinum verbum praedicandum divinitus vocati sunt. Sic enim in monacho Rustico clericos omnes affatur: "Quamdiu in patria tua es, habeto cellulam pro

¹ *Ep.* cviii. 26.

² *Ep.* cxxvii. 7.

³ *Ps.* l. 8.

⁴ *Imit. Chr.* iv. ii, 4.

⁵ *Imit. Chr.* iv. ii, 4.

paradiso, varia Scripturarum poma decerpe, his utere deliciis, harum frui complexu. . . . Numquam de manu et oculis tuis recedat liber, Psalterium discatur ad verbum, oratio sine intermissione, vigil sensus nec vanis cogitationibus patens.”¹ Nepotianum vero presbyterum sic monet: “Divinas Scripturas saepius lege, immo nunquam de manibus tuis sacra lectio deponatur. Disce quod doceas. Obtine eum qui secundum doctrinam est fidelem sermonem, ut possis exhortari in doctrina sancta et contradicentes revincere.”² Cum autem in Sancti Paulini memoriam praecepta a Paulo discipulis Timotheo ac Tito de scientia Scripturarum impertita redeisset, haec addit: “Sancta quippe rusticitas sibi soli prodest, et quantum aedificat ex vitae merito Ecclesiam Christi, tantum nocet si contradicentibus non resistit. Malachias propheta, immo per Malachiam Dominus: Interroga, ait, sacerdotes legem. In tantum sacerdotis officium est interrogatum respondere de lege. Et in Deuteronomio legimus: Interroga patrem tuum et annuntiabit tibi, presbyteros tuos et dicent tibi. . . . Daniel in fine sacratissimae visionis iustos ait fulgere quasi stellas, et intellegentes id est doctos quasi firmamentum. Vides quantum distent inter se iusta rusticitas et docta iustitia? Alii stellis, alii caelo comparantur.”³ Aliorum quoque clericorum “iustam rusticitatem” in epistula ad Marcellam per ironiam carpit: “quam (rusticitatem) illi solam pro sanctitate habent, piscatorum se discipulos asserentes, quasi idcirco iusti sint, si nihil scierint.”⁴ At non eiusmodi tantummodo rusticos, verum etiam clericos litteratos Scripturarum ignorantia peccare animadvertit, et gravissimis verbis assiduam in sacris voluminibus exercitationem sacerdotibus inculcat. Quae quidem exegetae sanctissimi documenta, Venerabiles Fratres, studiose effice ut animis clericorum et sacerdotum vestrorum altius insideant; nam vestrum in primis est diligenter revocare eos ad considerandum quid ab ipsis divini muneris, quo aucti sunt, ratio postulet, si eo non indignos se praestare velint: “Labia enim sacerdotis custodient scientiam et legem requirent ex ore eius, quia Angelus Domini exercituum est.”⁵ Sciant igitur, sibi nec studium Scripturarum esse neglegendum, nec illud alia via aggrediendum, ac Leo XIII Encyclicis Litteris “Providentissimus Deus” data opera praescipsit. Iidem profecto perfectius aliquid attingent, si Institutum Biblicum celebrarint, quod, secundum Leonis XIII optata, proximus decessor Noster condidit permagna quidem cum Ecclesiae sanctae utilitate, ut est horum decem annorum experimento testatissimum. Sed quoniam plerique hoc nequeunt, optabile est ut selecti ex

¹ *Ep.* cxxv. 7, 3; xi. 1.

² *Ep.* lii. 7, 1.

³ *Ep.* liii. 3 ss.

⁴ *Ep.* xxvii. 1, 2.

⁵ *Mal.* ii. 7.

utroque clero viri, vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, auctoribus atque auspiciis, undique in Urbem convenient operam rei biblicae in Instituto Nostro daturi. Qui autem alumni convenerint, iis non una de causa Institutum frequentare licebit. Alii enim, secundum praecipuum huius Lycei magni finem, studia biblica ita pertractabunt, ut ea "postmodum tam privatim quam publice, tum scribes cum docentes, profiteri valeant, sive in munere magistrorum penes catholicas scholas, sive in officio scriptorum pro catholica veritate vindicanda, eorum dignitatem tueri possint";¹ alii vero, qui iam ministerio sacro initiati sint, ampliorem, quam in theologiae curriculo, cognitionem Scripturae sacrae, itemque magnorum eius interpretum et temporum locorumque biblicorum, sibi comparare poterunt, quae cognitio ad usum praecipue pertineat, ad id nempe, ut perfecti evadant verbi divini administri, ad omne opus bonum instructi.²

Habetis, Venerabiles Fratres, ex Hieronymi exemplo et auctoritate quibus virtutibus oporteat instructum esse, quisquis se ad lectionem studiumve Bibliorum conferat: nunc ipsum audiamus docentem quorsum sacrarum litterarum cognitio spectare quidque debeat intendere. Primum in iis paginis cibis quaerendus est, unde vita spiritus ad perfectionem alatur: quam ob causam Hieronymus in lege Domini meditari die ac nocte et in sanctis Scripturis panem de caelo ac manna caeleste, omnes in se delicias habens, consuevit comedere.³ Quo quidem cibo animus noster carere qui possit? Et quomodo ecclesiasticus vir viam salutis alios doceat, quando, neglecta Scripturae meditatione, se ipse non docet? Aut quo pacto, sacra administrando, confidat se "esse ducem caecorum, lumen eorum qui in tenebris sunt, eruditorem insipientium, magistrum infantium, habentem formam scientiae et veritatis in lege,"⁴ si hanc legis doctrinam commentari nolit et superno lumini aditum prohibeat? Heu quot sacrorum administri, posthabita Bibliorum lectione, fame ipsi pereunt et alios nimis multos interire sinunt, cum scriptum sit: "Parvuli petierunt panem et non erat qui frangeret eis."⁵ "Desolata est omnis terra quia nullus est qui recogitet corde."⁶ Deinde, ut res postulaverit, argumenta ex Scripturis petenda sunt quibus fidei dogmata illustremus, confirmemus, tueamur. Quod ille mirifice praestitit, adversus sui temporis haereticos dimicans: quos ad refellendos, quam acuta, quam solida e locis Scripturae arma desumpserit, omnia eius opera luculenter ostendunt. In quo si eum imitati erunt nostri Scripturarum interpretes, id profecto consecuturum est—quod decessor

¹ Pius X. in Litt. ap. *Vinea electa*, 7 Maii, 1909.

² Cf. 2 Tim. iii. 17.

³ *Tract. de Ps.* cxlvii.

⁴ Rom. ii. 19 s.

⁵ Thren. iv. 4.

⁶ Ier. xii. 11.

Noster in Encyclicis Litteris “*Providentissimus Deus*” “*maxime optabile et necessarium*” dixit—ut “*eiusdem Scripturae usus in universam theologiae influat disciplinam eiusque prope sit anima.*” Praecipuus denique Scripturae usus ad divini verbi ministerium pertinet, sancte fructuoseque exercendum. Atque hoc loco, gratissimum est Doctoris Maximi verbis roborari praecepta, quae Nos Litteris Encyclicis “*Humani generis*” de verbi divini praedicatione tradidimus. Ac profecto insignis interpres tam graviter, tam frequenter continuam sacrarum Litterarum lectionem ad id potissimum sacerdotibus commendat, ut munere docendi et contionandi digne perfungantur. Neque enim eorum sermo habeat aliquid, cum momenti et ponderis, tum ad effingendos animos efficacitatis, nisi a sacra Scriptura informetur ab eaque vim suam ac robur mutuetur. “*Sermo presbyteri Scripturarum lectione conditus sit.*”¹ Nam “*quidquid in Scripturis sanctis dicitur, tuba comminans est et grandi voce credentium aures penetrans.*”² “*Nihil enim ita percutit, ut exemplum de Scripturis sanctis.*”³

Quae autem sanctus Doctor habet de legibus in usu Bibliorum servandis, ea, quamquam ad interpretes quoque, maximam partem, pertinent, sacerdotes in verbi divini praedicatione ante oculos habento. Ac primo quidem monet, ipsa Scripturae verba perdiligenter consideremus, ut certo constet quidnam sacer scriptor dixerit. Neque enim quisquam ignorat, Hieronymum, si quando opus esset, consuevisse ad codicem primigenium adire, aliam interpretationem cum alia comparare, vim verborum excutere et, si qui incidisset error, causas erroris aperire ut de ipsa lectione omnis tolleretur dubitatio. Tum vero, quae in verbis insit significatio et sententia, docet esse inquirendum, quia “*de Scripturis sanctis disputanti non tam necessaria sunt verba quam sensus.*”⁴ Atque in eiusmodi significatione perscrutanda minime diffitemur Hieronymum, doctores latinos nonnullosque ex graecis superiorum temporum imitatum, fortasse plus aequo allegoricis interpretationibus initio concessisse. Verum fecit ipse sacrorum Librorum amor, fecit perpetuus labor in eos recognoscendos ac penitus percipiendos impensus, ut cotidie magis in recta sensus litteralis aestimatione proficeret, et sana hoc in genere principia proponeret; quae, cum nunc quoque tutam omnibus viam muniant ad plenum ex sacris libris sensum eruendum, breviter exponemus. Ad litteralem igitur seu historicam explicationem in primis animum intendere debemus: “*Prudentem semper admoneo lectorem, ut non superstitiosis acquiescat interpretationibus*

¹ *Ep. lii. 8, 1.*

³ *In Zach. ix. 15 s.*

² *In Amos iii. 3 ss.*

⁴ *Ep. xxix. 1, 3.*

et quae commatice pro fingentium dicuntur arbitrio, sed consideret priora, media et sequentia, et nectat sibi universa quae scripta sunt."¹ Addit, reliquum omne interpretationis genus, tamquam fundamento, sensu litterali inniti,² qui neque tum abesse putandus est, cum aliquid translate effertur; nam "frequenter historia ipsa metaphorice textitur et sub imagine . . . praedicatur."³ Qui vero opinantur, Doctorem nostrum id nonnullis Scripturae locis tribuisse quod sensu historico carent, eos ipsemet refellit: "Non historiam denegamus, sed spiritalem intellegentiam praeferimus."⁴ Litterali autem seu historica significatione in tuto collocata, interiores altioresque rimatur sensus, ut exquisitiore epulo spiritum pascat; docet enim de libro Proverbiorum, idemque de reliquis Scripturae partibus saepe monet, sistendum non esse in solo litterali sensu, "sed, quasi in terra aurum, in nuce nucleus, in hirsutis castanearum operculis absconditus fructus inquiritur, ita in eis divinum sensum altius perscrutandum."⁵ Quamobrem, cum Sanctum Paulinum edoceret, "quo in Scripturis sanctis calle gradiatur," "totum," ait, "quod legimus in divinis libris, nitet quidem et fulget etiam in cortice, sed dulcius in medulla est. Qui esse vult nucleum, frangit nucem."⁶ Monet tamen, cum de quarendo agitur eiusmodi interiore sensu, quemdam modum esse adhibendum, "ne, dum spiritales divitias sequimur, historiae contemnere paupertatem videamur."⁷ Itaque haud paucas improbat antiquorum scriptorum mysticas interpretationes ob eam praecipue causam quod in litterali sensu minime inniterentur: "ut omnes illius repromissiones quas sancti prophetae suo ore cecinerunt, non inanem sonum habeant et crassa solius tropologiae nomina, sed fundentur in terra et cum historiae habuerint fundamenta, tunc spiritualis intellegentiae culmen accipiant."⁸ Qua in re sapienter animadvertit, non esse a Christi et Apostolorum vestigiis discedendum, qui, quamquam Vetus Testamentum uti Novi Foederis praeparationem et obumbrationem considerant proptereaque locus complures typice interpretantur, non omnia tamen ad typicam significationem trahunt. Atque, ut rem confirmet, saepe ad Paulum Apostolum appellat, qui, exempli gratia, "exponens sacramenta Adae et Evae, non negavit plasmationem eorum, sed super fundamentum historiae spiritalem intellegentiam aedificans ait: Propter hoc relinquet homo, etc."⁹ Quodsi sacrarum Littera-

¹ *In Matth.* xxv. 13.

² *Cf. in Ez.* xxxviii. 1 ss.; xli. 23 ss.; xlii. 13 s.; *in Marc.* i. 13-31; *Ep.* cxxix. 6, 1, etc.

³ *In Hab.* iii. 14 ss.

⁴ *In Marc.* ix. 1-7; *cf. in Ez.* xl. 24-27.

⁵ *In Eccle.* xii. 9 s.

⁶ *Ep.* lviii. 9, 1.

⁷ *In Eccle.* ii. 24 ss.

⁸ *In Amos* ix. 6.

⁹ *In Is.* vi. 1-7.

rum interpretes et divini verbi praecones, Christi et Apostolorum exemplum secuti monitisque Leonis XIII obtemperantes, ea non neglexerint “ quae ab eisdem Patribus ad allegoricam similemve sententiam translata sunt, maxime cum ex litterali descendant, et multorum auctoritate fulciantur,” et modeste temperateque e litterali sententia ad altiora exsurgant atque se erigant, cum Hieronymo experientur quam verum illud Pauli: “ Omnis Scriptura divinitus inspirata et utilis ad docendum, ad arguendum, ad corrigendum, ad erudiendum in iustitia,”¹ et larga ex infinito Scripturarum thesauro habituri sunt rerum sententiarumque subsidia, quibus fortiter suaviterque vitam moresque fidelium ad sanctitatem conforment.

Quod vero attinet ad exponendi et dicendi rationem, quoniam inter dispensatores mysteriorum Dei quaeritur ut fidelis quis inveniatur, statuit Hieronymus, potissimum “ veritatem interpretationis ” retinendam esse et “ commentatoris officium esse, non quid ipse velit, sed quid sentiat ille quem interpretatur, exponere ”;² adiecit autem, “ grande periculum esse in Ecclesia loqui, ne forte interpretatione perversa de Evangelio Christi hominis fiat Evangelium.”³ Deinde “ in explanatione sanctorum Scripturarum non verba composita et oratoriis flosculis adornata, sed eruditio et simplicitas quaeritur veritatis.”⁴ Quam quidem ad normam cum scripta sua exararet, in commentariis profitetur hoc sibi habere propositum, non ut verba sua “ laudentur, sed ut quae ab alio bene dicta sunt, ita intelligentur ut dicta sunt ”;⁵ in expositione vero divini verbi eam requiri orationem, quae “ nullam lucubrationem redolens . . . rem explicet, sensum edisserat, obscura manifestet, non quae verborum compositione frondescat.”⁶ Atque hic placet plures Hieronymi locos subiicere, e quibus liquet, quam vehementer ab eloquentia illa abhorreret declamatorum propria, quae vacuo verborum strepitu et celeritate loquendi inanes plausus intendit. “ Nolo te,” monet Nepotianum presbyterum, “ declamatorem esse et rabulam garrulumque, sed mysterii peritum et sacramentorum Dei tui eruditissimum. Verba volvere et celeritate dicendi apud imperitum vulgus admirationem sui facere, indoctorum hominum est.”⁷ “ Ex litteratis quicumque hodie ordinantur, id habent curae, non quomodo Scripturarum medullas ebibant, sed quomodo aures populi declamatorum flosculis mulceant.”⁸ “ Taceo de mei similibus, qui si forte ad Scripturas sanctas post saeculares litteras venerint, et sermone composito aurem populi mulserint, quidquid dixerint, hoc

¹ 2 Tim. iii. 16.

³ In Gal. i. 11 ss.

⁵ In Gal., Praef. in l. 3.

⁷ Ep. lii. 8, 1.

² Ep. xlix., al. xlviii. 17, 7.

⁴ In Amos, Praef. in l. 3.

⁶ Ep. xxxvi. 14, 2; cf. Ep. cxi. 1, 2.

⁸ Dial. c. Lucif. 11.

legem Dei putant, nec scire dignantur quid prophetae, quid Apostoli senserint, sed ad sensum suum incongrua aptant testimonia: quasi grande sit et non vitiosissimum dicendi genus, depravare sententias et ad voluntatem suam Scripturam trahere repugnantem.”¹ Nam sine Scripturarum auctoritate garrulitas non haberet fidem, nisi viderentur perversam doctrinam etiam divinis testimoniis roborare.”² Verum haec garrula eloquentia et verbosa rusticitas “nihil mordax, nihil vividum, nihil vitale demonstrat, sed totum flaccidum marcidumque et mollitum ebullit in olera et in herbas, quae cito arescunt et corruunt”; simplex, contra, Evangelii doctrina, similis minimo grano sinapis, “non exsurgit in olera, sed crescit in arborem, ita ut volucres caeli . . . veniant et habitent in ramis eius.”³ Quare hanc sanctam dicendi simplicitatem, cum perspicuitate et venustate minime quaesita coniunctam, ipse in omnibus sectabatur: “Sint alii disert, laudentur ut volunt, et inflatis buccis spumantia verba trutinentur: mihi sufficit sic loqui ut intellegar et ut de Scripturis disputans Scripturarum imiter simplicitatem.”⁴ Etenim “ecclesiastica interpretatio etiamsi habet eloquii venustatem, dissimulare eam debet et fugere, ut non otiosis philosophorum scholis paucisque discipulis, sed universo loquatur hominum generi.”⁵ Quae profecto consilia et praecepta si iuniores sacerdotes ad effectum deduxerint et seniores continenter prae oculis habuerint, confidimus eos fore Christifidelium animis per ministerium sacrum summopere profuturos.

Reliquum est, Venerabiles Fratres, ut “dulces fructus” commemoremus, quos Hieronymus “de amaro semine litterarum” decerpserit, in eam erecti spem, futurum, ut eius exemplo ad cognoscendam percipiendamque sacri codicis virtutem sacerdotes et fideles vestris curis concrediti incenduntur. Sed tantas tamque suaves spiritus delicias, quibus pius anachoreta affluebat, malumus ex eius veluti ore quam ex Nostris verbis complectamini. Audiatis igitur quomodo de sacra hac disciplina Paulinum “symmystam, sodalem et amicum” alloquatur: “Oro te, frater carissime, inter haec vivere, ista meditari, nihil aliud nosse, nihil quaerere, nonne tibi videtur iam hic in terris regni caelestis habitaculum?”⁶ Alumnam vero suam, Paulam ita interrogat: “Oro te, quid hoc sacratius sacramento? quid hac voluptate iucundius? Qui cibi, quae mella sunt dulciora quam Dei scire prudentiam, in adyta eius intrare, sensum Creatoris inspicere et sermones Domini tui, qui ab huius mundi sapientibus deridentur, plenos docere sapientia spiritali?”

¹ *Ep.* liii. 7, 2.

³ *In Matth.* xiii. 32.

⁵ *Ep.* xlviii. *al.* xlix. 4, 3.

² *In Tit.* i. 10 s.

⁴ *Ep.* xxxvi. 14, 2.

⁶ *Ep.* liii. 10, 1.

Habeant sibi ceteri suas opes, gemma bibant, serico niteant, plausu populi delectentur et per varias voluptates divitias suas vincere nequeant: nostrae deliciae sint, in lege Domini meditari die ac nocte, pulsare ianuam non patentem, panes Trinitatis accipere et saeculi fluctus, Domino praeunte, calcare.”¹ Ad eandem Paulam et filiam eius Eustochium in commentario Epistulae ad Ephesios: “Si quidquam est, Paula et Eustochium, quod in hac vita sapientem teneat et inter pressuras et turbines mundi aequo animo manere persuadeat, id esse vel primum reor meditationem et scientiam Scripturarum.”² Quaecum ipse uteretur, gravibus animi maeroribus corporisque aegrotationibus affectus, tamen pacis et interioris gaudii solacio fruebatur: quod quidem gaudium non erat in vana atque otiosa delectatione positum, sed, a caritate profectum, in caritatem actuosam erga Ecclesiam Dei convertebatur, cui divini verbi custodia a Domino commissae est.

Etenim in sacris utriusque Foederis Litteris Ecclesiae Dei laudes legebat passim praedicatas. Singulae fere illustres sanctaeque mulieres, quae in Veteri Testamento honorificum obtinent locum, nonne huius Christi Sponsae figuram praeferebant? Nonne sacerdotium et sacrificia, instituta et sollemnia, universae paene Veteris Testamenti res gestae ad eam adumbrandam pertinebant? Quid, quod tot Psalmorum et prophetarum vaticinationes in Ecclesia divinitus impletas intuebatur? Non ipsi denique audita erant, a Christo Domino et ab Apostolis enuntiata, maxima eiusdem Ecclesiae privilegia? Quidni igitur in animo Hieronymi amorem erga Christi Sponsam cotidie magis excitaverit scientia Scripturarum? Iam vidimus, Venerabiles Fratres, quanta reverentia et quam flagranti caritate is Ecclesiam Romanam et Petri Cathedram prosequeretur; vidimus quam acriter Ecclesiae adversarios impugnet. Cum autem iuniori commilitoni Augustino, idem proelium proliant, plauderet, et se una cum eo haereticorum invidiam in se suscepisse laetaretur: “Macte virtute,” ita eum alloquitur, “in orbe celebraris. Catholici te conditorem antiquae rursum fidei venerantur atque suscipiunt, et, quod signum maioris gloriae est, omnes haeretici detestantur, et me pari persequuntur odio, ut quos gladiis nequeant, voto interficiant.”³ Quae egregie confirmat Postumianus, apud Sulpicium Severum de Hieronymo testatus: “Cui iugis adversum malos pugna perpetuumque certamen concivit odia perditorum. Oderunt eum haeretici, quia eos impugnare non desinit; oderunt clerici, quia vitam eorum insectatur et crimina. Sed plane eum omnes

¹ *Ep.* xxx. 13.

² *In Eph., Prol.*

³ *Ep.* cxli. 2; *cf. Ep.* cxxxiv. 1.

boni admirantur et diligunt."¹ Quo ex haereticorum perditorumque hominum odio multa perpersu aspera Hieronymus oppetiit, tum maxime cum Pelagiani coenobium Bethlehemiticum tumultuose adorti vastarunt; at omnes indignitates contumeliasque libenter pertulit, neque animo concidit, utpote qui pro tuenda Christi fide mori non dubitaret: "Hoc meum gaudium est," ad Apronium scribit, "quando in Christo audio filios meos dimicare, et istum zelum in nos ipse confirmet, cui credimus, ut pro fide eius sanguinem voluntarie fundamus. . . . Nostra autem domus secundum carnales opes haereticorum persecutionibus penitus eversa, Christo propitio spiritalibus divitiis plena est. Melius est enim panem manducare quam fidem perdere."² Quodsi errores nusquam impune serpere passus est, haud minore sane studio in perditos mores vehementi illo suo dicendi genere usus est, ut, quantum in se erat, Christo "exhiberet . . . gloriosam Ecclesiam, non habentem maculam aut rugam, aut aliquid eiusmodi, sed ut sit sancta et immaculata."³ Quam graviter eos increpat, qui sacerdotalem dignitatem pravo vitae instituto violarent! Quam eloquenter ethnicos vituperat mores, qui ipsam Urbem magna ex parte inficerent! Hanc vero vitiorum scelerumque omnium collusionem ut quoquo pacto cohiberet, opponere ipse virtutum christianarum praestantiam atque pulchritudinem, verissime ratus nihil tam ad malum aversandum valere quam rerum optimarum amorem; instare ut adulescentes pie ac recte instituerentur; gravibus consiliis coniuges ad vitae integritatem sanctitatemque hortari; studium virginitatis purioribus instillare animis; arduam quidem sed suavem interioris vitae severitatem omnibus laudibus extollere; primam illam christianae religionis legem, caritatis scilicet cum labore coniunctae, qua servata, e perturbationibus ad tranquillitatem ordinis se hominum societas feliciter reciperet, omni contentione urgere. De caritate autem ita praeclare ad Sanctum Paulinum: "Verum Christi templum anima credentis est: illam exorna, illam vesti, illi offer donaria, in illa Christum suscipe. Quae utilitas, parietes fulgere gemmis et Christum in paupere fame mori?"⁴ Laboris vero legem non scriptis modo, sed totius quoque vitae exemplis tam impense omnibus suadebat, ut Postumianus, qui sex menses cum Hieronymo in urbe Bethlehem commoratus erat, apud Sulpicium Severum testatus sit: "Totus semper in lectione, totus in libris est: non die, non nocte requiescit; aut legit aliquid semper aut scribit."⁵ Ceterum, quantum Ecclesiam adamaret, liquet etiam ex commentariis, in quibus

¹ Postumianus apud Sulp. Sev., *Dial.* i. 9.

² *Eph.* cxxxix.

³ *Eph.* v. 27.

⁴ *Eph.* lviii. 7, 1.

⁵ Postumianus apud Sulp. Sev., *Dial.* i. 9.

nullam dilaudandae Christi Sponsae opportunitatem praeterit. Ita, exempli causa, in explanatione Aggaei prophetae legimus: “Venerunt electa omnium gentium et repleta est gloria domus Domini, quae est Ecclesia Dei viventis, columna et firmamentum veritatis. . . . His metallis illustrior fit Ecclesia Salvatoris quam quondam synagoga fuerat: his lapidibus vivis aedificatur domus Christi et pax ei praebetur aeterna.”¹ Et in Michaeam: “Venite, ascendamus in montem Domini: ascensione opus est ut quis ad Christum valeat pervenire et domum Dei Iacob, Ecclesiam, quae est domus Dei, columna et firmamentum veritatis.”² In prooemio commentarii in Matthaeum: “Ecclesia . . . supra petram Domini voce fundata est, quam introduxit Rex in cubiculum suum et ad quam per foramen descensionis occultae misit manum suam.”³

Quemadmodum in postremis, quos attulimus, locis, sic plerumque Dominum Iesum intime cum Ecclesia coniunctum Doctor noster concelebrat. Caput enim cum a corpore mystico separari nequeat, necessario coniungitur cum Ecclesiae studio Christi amor, qui scientiae Scripturarum praecipuus atque dulcissimus omnium fructus habendus est. Hanc profecto sacri codicis scientiam adeo Hieronymus persuasum habebat usitam esse viam qua ad cognitionem et amorem Christi Domini pervenitur, ut asseverare minime dubitaverit: “Ignoratio Scripturarum ignoratio Christi est.”⁴ Idem ad sanctam Paulam scribit: “Quae enim alia potest esse vita sine scientia Scripturarum per quas etiam ipse Christus agnoscitur, qui est vita credentium?”⁵ In Christum enim veluti centrum omnes utriusque Testamenti paginae vergunt; et Hieronymus, cum verba Apocalypsis explanat quae sunt de fluvio et ligno vitae, inter alia, haec habet: “Unus fluvius egreditur de throno Dei, hoc est gratia Spiritus Sancti, et ista gratia Spiritus Sancti in sanctis Scripturis est, hoc est in isto fluvio Scripturarum. Tamen iste fluvius duas ripas habet, et Vetus et Novum Testamentum, et in utraque parte arbor plantata Christus est.”⁶ Nihil igitur mirum si, quaecumque in sacro codice leguntur, ea, pia meditatione, ad Christum referre consueverat: “Ego quando lego Evangelium et video ibi testimonia de lege, testimonia de prophetis, solum Christum considero: sic vidi Moysen, sic vidi prophetas, ut de Christo intellegerem loquentes. Denique quando venero ad splendorem Christi et quasi splendidissimum lumen clari solis adspexero, lucernae lumen non possum videre. Numquid lucernam si incendas in die, lucere potest? Si sol luxerit, lux lucernae non paret: sic et Christo praesente

¹ *In Agg. ii. 1 ss.*

³ *In Matth., Prol.*

⁵ *Ep. xxx. 7.*

² *In Mich. iv. 1 ss.*

⁴ *In Is., Prol.; cf. tract. de Ps. lxxvii.*

⁶ *Tract. de Ps. i.*

comparata lex et prophetae non apparent. Non detraho legi et prophetis, quin potius laudo, quia Christum praedicant. Sed sic lego legem et prophetas ut non permaneam in lege et prophetis, sed per legem et prophetas ad Christum perveniam.”¹ Ita, qui Christum ubique pie quaereret, eum Scripturarum commentatione ad amorem et scientiam Domini Iesu mirifice efferri cernimus, in qua margaritam illam Evangelii pretiosam invenit: “Unum autem est pretiosissimum margaritum, scientia Salvatoris et sacramentum passionis illius et resurrectionis arcanum.”² Qua Christi caritate cum flagraret, nimirum fiebat ut, pauper et humilis cum Christo, animo ab omnibus terrenis curis libero ac soluto, unice Christum quaereret, eius spiritu ageretur, cum eo coniunctissime viveret, eum patientem in se, imitando, effingeret, nihil haberet antiquius quam ut cum Christo et pro Christo pateretur. Quare, cum, iniuriis odiisque improborum hominum laceratus, Damaso vita functo, Roma discessisset, in eoque esset ut navem conscenderet, haec scribebat: “Et licet me sceleratum quidam putent et omnibus flagitiis obrutum, et pro peccatis meis etiam haec parva sint, tamen tu bene facis, quod ex tua mente etiam malos bonos putas. . . . Gratias ago Deo meo quod dignus sum quem mundus oderit. . . . Quotam partem angustiarum perpressus sum qui cruci milito? Infamiam falsi criminis importarunt: sed scio per malam et bonam famam perveniri ad regna caelorum.”³ Et sanctam virginem Eustochium ad eiusmodi vitae labores pro Christo fortiter ferendos sic hortabatur: “Grandis labor, sed grande praemium, esse quod Martyres, esse quod Apostolos, esse quod Christus est. . . . Haec omnia, quae digessimus, dura videbuntur ei qui non amat Christum. Qui autem omnem saeculi pompam pro purgamento habuerit et vana duxerit universa sub sole, ut Christum lucrifaciat, qui commortuus est Domino suo et conresurrexit et crucifixit carnem cum vitiis et concupiscentiis, libere proclamabit: Quis nos separabit a caritate Christi?”⁴ Fructus igitur e sacrorum voluminum lectione Hieronymus capiebat uberrimos: inde interiora illa lumina, quibus ad Christum magis magisque cognoscendum adamandumque trahebatur; inde spiritum illum orationis, de quo tam pulchra conscripsit; inde mirabilem illam cum Christo consuetudinem, cuius incitatus deliciis, per arduam crucis semitam, ad adipiscendam victoriae palmam sine intermissione procurrit. Idem continuo animi ardore in Sanctissimam Eucharistiam ferebatur, cum “nihil illo ditius qui Corpus Domini canistro vimineo, sanguinem portat vitro”;⁵ nec minore reverentia et pietate Deiparam

¹ *Tract. in Marc. ix. 1-7.*

² *In Matth. xiii. 45 s.*

³ *Ep. xlv. 1, 6.*

⁴ *Ep. xxii. 38 s.*

⁵ *Ep. cxxv. 20, 4.*

colebat cuius perpetuam virginitatem pro viribus defendit; eandemque Dei Matrem, nobilissimum virtutum omnium exemplar, Christi sponsis proponere ad imitandum consueverat.¹ Quamobrem nemo mirabitur, tam vehementer Hieronymum allectum atque attractum esse iis Palaestinae locis quae Redemptor Noster et Sanctissima eius Mater consecravissent; ipsius profecto sententiam in iis licet agnoscere, quae Paula et Eustochium, eius discipulae, ex urbe Bethlehem ad Marcellam conscripserunt: "Quo sermone, qua voce speluncam tibi possumus Salvatoris exponere? Et illud praesepe, in quo infantulus vagiit, silentio magis quam infirmo sermone honorandum est. . . . Ergone erit illa dies, quando nobis liceat speluncam Salvatoris intrare, in sepulcro Domini flere cum sorore, flere cum matre? Crucis deinde lignum lambere et in Oliveti monte cum ascendente Domino, voto et animo sublevari?"² Has igitur recolens sacras memorias, Hieronymus Roma procul, corpori quidem duriorem sed tam suavem animo vitam agebat, ut exclamaret: "Habeat Roma, quod angustior Urbe Romana possidet Bethlehem."³

Sanctissimi viri optatum, alia ratione atque ipse intellegebat, perfectum esse, est cur Nos gaudeamus et Romani cives Nobiscum gaudeant; quas enim Doctoris Maximi reliquias, in illo ipso specu conditas, quem tamdiu incoluerat, Davidica nobilissima civitas se olim possidere gloriabatur, eas iam felix Roma habet, in maiore Deiparae Basilica depositas, apud ipsum Praesepe Domini. Silet quidem vox illa, cuius sonum e solitudine olim prodeuntem totus audivit catholicus orbis; sed scriptis suis, quae "per universum mundum quasi divinae lampades rutilant,"⁴ Hieronymus adhuc clamat. Clamat, quae sit Scripturarum praestantia, quae integritas et historica fides, quam dulces fructus earum lectio pariat ac meditatio. Clamat, ut ad institutum vitae christiano nomine dignum omnes Ecclesiae filii redeant, et ab ethnicorum moribus, qui hac nostra aetate paene revixisse videntur, se immunes atque incolumes servent. Clamat, ut Petri Cathedra, Italorum praesertim pietate et studio, quorum in finibus divinitus constituta est, eo sit in honore, ea fruatur libertate, quam apostolici muneris dignitas atque ipsa perfunctio omnino postulant. Clamat, ut christianae illae gentes, quae ab Ecclesia Matre misere desciverunt, ad eam denuo confugiant, in qua spes omnis posita est salutis aeternae. Atque utinam his monitis obsequantur orientales in primis Ecclesiae, quae iam nimium diu a Petri Cathedra averso sunt animo. Hieronymus enim, cum in iis regionibus viveret et Gregorio Nazianzeno Didymo-

¹ Cf. *Ep.* xxii. 38, 3.

³ *Ep.* liv. 13, 6.

² *Ep.* xlv. 11, 13.

⁴ Cassian., *De incarn.* vii. 26.

que Alexandrino usus esset magistris, orientalium aetatis suae populorum doctrinam ea complexus est pervulgata sententia: "Si quis in Noe arca non fuerit, periet regnante diluvio."¹ Cuius diluvii fluctus nonne hodie impendent ad omnia, nisi eos Deus avertat, hominum instituta destruenda? Ecquid enim, sublato, universarum rerum auctore et conservatore, Deo, non corruat? Ecquid non pereat, quod ab se Christum, qui vita est, segregarit? Sed qui olim, discipulis comprecantibus, mare turbatum tranquillavit, potest idem pulcherrima pacis munera exagitatae hominum consortioni restituere. In quo opituletur Hieronymus Ecclesiae Dei, quam cum peramanter coluit, tum a quavis adversariorum oppugnatione strenue defendit; idque patrocinio suo impetret, ut, discidiis secundum Iesu Christi optata compositis, "fiat unum ovile et unus pastor."

Iam quae, Venerabiles Fratres, quinto decimo a Doctoris Maximi obitu exeunte saeculo, vobiscum communicavimus, ea vos ad clerum populumque vestrum perferre ne cunctemini, ut omnes, Hieronymo duce ac patrono, non modo catholicam de divina Scripturarum inspiratione doctrinam retineant ac tueantur, sed etiam principiis studiosissime inhaereant, quae Litteris Encyclicis "Providentissimus Deus" et hisce Nostris praescripta sunt. Universis interea Ecclesiae filiis optamus, ut, sacrarum Litterarum dulcedine perfusi et roborati, supereminentem Iesu Christi scientiam assequantur: cuius auspicem paternaeque benevolentiae Nostrae testem, vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, cunctoque clero et populo vobis concredito, apostolicam benedictionem amantissime in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum die xv mensis Septembris anno MDCCCXX, Pontificatus Nostri septimo.

BENEDICTVS PP. XV.

¹ *Ep.* xv. 2, 1.

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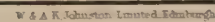
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This map will, it is hoped, prove useful to the student. However much of the rest of the world may have been known to or guessed at by the writers of the first three or four centuries of the Christian era, it still remains true that for them the "Orbis terrarum" was primarily the Mediterranean basin with the countries grouped round it.

No student can study this map without being impressed by the number of the witnesses, their different nationalities and speech, and by the remarkable fashion in which their testimony echoes from all four points of the compass. The Church at Rome has her own witnesses, amongst others the Latin version of the Bible ; to Rome, too, the other witnesses flock and serve to swell the chorus of her Doctors. The glorious African Church speaks through St. Cyprian and St. Augustine, as well as through the Latin versions of Holy Scripture ; Asia speaks through the Churches of St. John as well as through those which St. Paul founded or to whom he or St. Ignatius wrote ; remote Cappadocia through St. Basil and the sainted Gregories ; Antioch of Syria may have been, in part at least, responsible for the Latin versions and also for the revised Syriac version of the New Testament, but it speaks, too, through St. Chrysostom and Ignatius, its bishops ; it speaks, too, through its famous school of interpreters of the Bible, even though some of them, like that erratic genius Theodore of Mopsuestia, did not always keep to the straight path.

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